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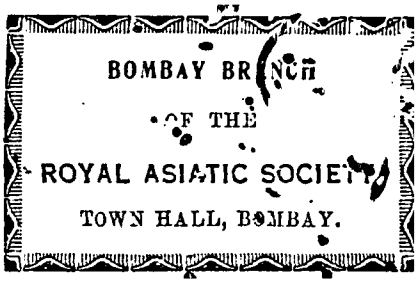

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RICK THE GR[illegible]

AND

HIS TIMES.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

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PREFACE.

The Author of these volumes, though well entitled from his talents to give to the world any work of his own with his own name, desires to publish them anonymously as to himself, but requested me to become their editor. I consented; for the perusal and re-perusal of the work have given me great satisfaction. I should feel myself degraded to be the editor of any composition unlikely to be interesting or useful to the public. If such a production were condemned, the editor would have to bear the brunt and shame of its condemnation. It would not suffice for him to say, "I am not the author of the work;" for the ready reply would be, "No; but you are its sponsor." True; and if I had had any such fear about these volumes, I should never have made myself their sponsor. They will speak for themselves.

The history of the House of Brandenburg for two centuries past has always appeared to me to be one of the most spirit-stirring of modern historical subjects. It presents the novelty of a little province speedily growing up to a great kingdom, the first among the second-rate powers of Europe. There is a freshness of new creation, and a young growth, in the Prussian monarchy, that fills us with an interest like what we feel in an herculean man-child starting from infancy into manhood. We may be told, no doubt, and with truth, that the map of Prussia exhibits a patchwork of territories acquired by war or negotiation. But the greater part of those acquisitions, at least of those preceding the unhallowed spoliation of Poland, were made in just and self-defensive warfare; ay, and of warfare in which the philanthropist might fairly recognise the general cause of religious, and by consequence that of civil, liberty to be intimately connected with the growth and glory of Prussia. The Great Elector of Brandenburg afforded an asylum to the professors of the Protestant religion in foreign parts, when persecuted on account of their faith. From that period an intimate connexion has subsisted between Protestantism and

Prussia, and the one served as a support to the other.

Of this Frederick William I., savage as he was in many respects, was more deeply sensible than his predecessors, and he declared himself the more decidedly the champion of the Protestant Church, not from political but religious motives. Thus we find him, during his whole reign, taking part in word and deed against the enemies to liberty of conscience; and, attached as he was to the Emperor, still he did not hesitate to oppose him when he believed the Protestant Church to be in danger.

Against Augustus II., elector of Saxony and king of Poland, after he had turned Catholic, Frederick William had first to defend the rights of the Protestants. Although the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, had guaranteed to them in Poland the free exercise of their religion and equal rights with the Catholics, still the Protestant Church in Poland and Lithuania suffered severe oppression. It was persecuted both by the Catholic priests and people. The starost Sigismund von Unruh, when, in 1715, he was condemned to have his tongue torn out and to be

beheaded for blasphemy, *i. e.*, for uttering uncatholic sentiments, fled for protection, and obtained it from Frederick William in Berlin. Two years later, the diet at Grodno declared the dissenters to have forfeited both their religious and civil rights. Frederick William remonstrated with the king of Poland; he sent the starost to England, with a letter to George I., strongly recommending the cause of the Protestant Poles to the attention of his Britannic majesty. He bound over the Swedes by the treaty of Stockholm, in 1720, to assist him in supporting the rights of the Protestants, civil and religious. His allies, however, failed to back him, and he was obliged to come forward alone as the champion of the Reformed religion. A riotous conflict, that took place at Thorn in 1734 between the Protestants and the Jesuits, provoked the Catholics to perpetrate several bloody executions. The king of Prussia took up the cause of the oppressed city, and brought it before the diet of Ratisbon. The sympathy which he excited for the citizens of Thorn contributed essentially to cause the Protestants of Poland to be treated in the sequel with more indulgence.

He applied also with threats that were not ineffectual to the elector of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine. At Heidelberg, in 1719, the Catholic confessors of the elector made that prince issue an edict forbidding the Reformers to hold divine service in the church of the Holy Ghost. The Protestants had recourse in their distress to the king of Prussia, who declared that, jointly with his Britannic majesty and the elector of Hesse Cassel, he should order all Roman Catholic churches, convents and institutions in his dominions to be shut up and their revenues sequestrated till the oppressions on account of religion should cease in the Palatinate.

Frederick the Great was a more enlightened prince than his father and equally a friend to religious toleration,—so that his victories were in no small degree connected with the safety of Protestantism. Had he been crushed by his antiprotestant enemies, Catholicism would have overridden the continent and the Reformed religion would have had to fight another thirty years' war. We may be reminded, no doubt, that the cause of Protestantism has not been at all times indissolubly knit with the pure and entire prin-

ciple of religious toleration; and we Englishmen have not to seek far abroad for examples of unhallowed persecution waged by Protestants upon Catholics. Frederick, as a tolerant in religion, had no resemblance to those dragons of Protestantism. While he befriended the Reformed faith, he restrained the reaction of persecution, and taught his Protestant subjects that, while they shared equal rights with the Romanists, they must not oppress them.

I have alluded to that foulest eruption on the face of modern history, the partition of Poland, in which, to our unspeakable regret, Frederick the Great had a share. I know that much may be urged, if not in justification, at least in excuse of his participation in this political crime; and that he appears at the bar of public opinion far less culpable than his two partners. The author of these volumes has not failed to adduce facts which, though they entitle him to some indulgence, are not sufficient to propitiate our indignation. There is therefore a painful revulsion of feelings in our minds, when, after having traced the young glory of Prussia from its cradle to its consummation, we come to

find it disgraced by public robbery. We feel as if we had been deeply smitten by the promising traits of some youthful character, but had discovered that our young hero, on attaining majority, betook himself to the highway.

In judging of men, however, some allowances are to be made on the score of juvenility, and still more are they to be made in the case of nations. Let the young man's errors be what they may, still he has a long life before him, and he may live down the recollection of his faults. But nations live twenty times longer than men, and those of them which belong to the class of their species who are growing civilized, have therefore a proportionately greater chance of redeeming lapses in their past character by subsequent civilization.

It is disagreeable to add with respect to Prussia that, when the French revolution convulsed Europe, she threw herself not only on the side but into the van of despotism, and after defeat recovered but little of her lost military reputation by being the first to compromise matters with France and to desert her antigallican allies. The ultimate issue of her sufferings however was triumphant, and

showed that, in spite of the despotic principles of her court and aristocracy, there was still a wide-spread manly national feeling, that is unknown to slaves, pervading her people. It was by evoking this national spirit that Frederick William III. saved his country from the domination of France; and so great was the national spirit, that it demanded and obtained changes of rights and property, which, though bloodlessly effected, were as surely revolutionary as the French revolution itself.

The truth is that Prussia had made a great advance in civilization under Frederick the Great. Despotic and military as his government was, Frederick had a philosophic and philanthropic sense of the duty of an absolute monarch to make his people as happy as possible; and thus, in spite of arbitrary laws and army flagellations, a certain degree of liberalism made its way into the general breast of the community, slowly, but not the less steadily because it was unaccompanied by any ostentation of political theories or menaces of state convulsions. To do justice to the bright side of the character of Frederick the Great, we must inform ourselves of the general condition of the

Prussians when he began to reign over them. His father, notwithstanding his savage temper, had bequeathed to him well regulated finances, and an example of severe attention to business which the great man laudably pursued. But his sire, himself half barbarous, had also left him a people still, as they had been in ruder ages, sorely held under oppression by the underlings of the executive power. Early in his reign, the young king was obliged to issue an edict against the oppression of his people by civil officers, "an oppression by which," he says, "many of his subjects have not only been totally ruined but forced to leave the country." It is added in this mandate: "His majesty must have officers, and will always take care that they shall have what is their right by contract; but he will not allow them to act tyrannically towards the subjects, and to treat their persons and property as though they were the serfs of the officers." He therefore enjoins the General Directory, to whom this order is addressed, "to remind all officers to behave in a Christian manner towards the peasants and subjects—otherwise, if any misconduct of this kind comes to his majesty's knowledge, he will make a

rigorous example of the offender; for it is as criminal in an officer to drive a subject or peasant out of the country, as to drive a soldier out of the ranks."

Only four years earlier, in 1738, Frederick's father had been obliged to issue an edict "forbidding the practice, (which seems to have been no innovation) of beating the people in a scandalous manner with sticks and whips like brute beasts." This was some ninety years ago. At present, he would be a bold man who should venture to cudgel a Prussian peasant.

Since the time of Frederick the Great, Prussia has advanced still farther in civilization; and, strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless true to say that she was indebted to her hostilities with France for some of the most eminent political blessings which she at present enjoys. The Rhenish provinces, in consequence of being occupied by the French, obtained the Code Napoleon, which allowed them trial by jury and open courts of justice; and the supreme court of appeal of those provinces now sits with open doors in Berlin. The first meeting of this court created an indescribable sensation in the Prussian capital. An

eminent barrister of Berlin told me that he and others went to this court scarcely trusting their eyes that they were looking on reality. Aged heads were shaken at the novelty, with presages that the world was coming to an end; but younger heads and more thoughtless hearts predicted, and it would seem more accurately, that the general conflagration was not yet at hand, even though there was an open court of justice in Berlin.

The bold reforms and liberal meliorations which were introduced into the whole frame of society and public relations in Prussia, began with the re-appointment of the late Chancellor Prince Hardenberg to the head of the government in 1810; or rather, if we trace the spring to its first fountain, they began with the battle of Jena, for that defeat was, in one sense, the salvation of Prussia. The degradation and helplessness into which it plunged the monarchy, while they roused all thinking men to see that there must be something wrong in existing relations, imposed likewise the necessity of making stupendous efforts, that the resources of the diminished kingdom might meet both its own expenditure and the contributions levied on it

by Napoleon. Stein was made Prussian minister at the instance of the French emperor, but it was soon found that he was too honest a German to be subservient to the conqueror, and he was dismissed. After some delay, Hardenberg was recalled. He received Prussia stripped of half its extent, its finances ruined, its resources at once exhausted by foreign contributions and depressed by ancient relations among the different classes of society, which custom had consecrated and selfishness vehemently wished to prolong. Hardenberg, though he had to fight through his reforms against the jealousies of town corporations and the power and prejudices of the aristocracy, left Prussia to his king enlarged in extent and restored to its fame, with a well ordered system, not more extravagant than was necessary in the struggle of the kingdom for its redemption; and above all he left it freed from those restraints which bound up the capacities of its wealth and industry. The most venturous of all his measures was that by which he entirely new-modelled the system, and did nothing less than create a new order of independent landed proprietors. The Erbunter-

thänigkeit, or hereditary subjection of the peasantry to the proprietors of the estates on which they were born, had been already abolished by Stein*. Next were removed the absurd restrictions, which had so long operated with accumulated force to diminish the productiveness of land, by fettering the proprietor not merely in the disposal of his estate but even in the mode of cultivating it. Then came forth, in 1810, a royal edict, effecting, by a single stroke of the pen, a greater and more decisive change than has resulted from any modern act. It decreed that all the peasantry of the country should in future be free hereditary proprietors of the lands which hitherto they had held only as hereditary tenants, on condition that they gave up to the landlord a fixed proportion of them.

This change, however, as the reader will find in the progress of the work before him, was no more than the great Frederick had determined to effect nearly half a century before; but the people, not yet ripe for emancipation, spurned the proffered boon, and he was obliged to desist from the philanthropic attempt.

* See RUSSELL'S *Tour in Germany*, vol. ii., p. 115.

The peasantry formed two classes. The first consisted of those who enjoyed what may be termed an hereditary lease—that is, who held lands to which the landlord was bound, on the death of the tenant in possession, to admit his successor, or, at least, some near relation. The right of the landlord was thus greatly inferior to that of unlimited property. He had not his choice of a tenant; the lease was likely to remain in the same family as long as the estate in his own; and, in general, he had not the power of increasing the rent, which had been originally fixed centuries perhaps before; whether it consisted in produce or services. Those peasants, on giving up one third of their farms to the landlord, became unlimited proprietors of the remainder. The second class consisted of peasants whose title endured only for life or a fixed term of years. In this case, the landlord was not bound to continue the lease, on its termination, to the former tenant, or to any of his descendants; but still he was far from being unlimited proprietor—for he was bound to replace the former tenant with a person of the same rank, and he was prohibited from taking the lands into his

own possession, or cultivating them with his own capital. His right, however, was clearly more absolute than in the former case, and it is difficult to see what claim the tenant could set up beyond the endurance of his lease. But this class of peasants, who were very numerous, on giving up one half of their farms to the landlord, become absolute proprietors of the remainder.

This was no doubt a stern interference with the right of property, and the landowners at first very naturally set their faces against it; but it was shown to the king by his minister that there was no alternative but to render agriculture more productive. The king, therefore, at the instance of Hardenberg, said to the nobility, "Well, gentlemen, take your choice; if you think yourselves an overmatch for my peasantry and myself, try the matter by force; if not, submit with a good grace." The aristocracy, on a little consideration, took the latter course, and in due time they themselves confessed that in ten years Hardenberg's reforms had, with regard to agriculture, carried forward the country a whole century.

The direct operation of this measure was to

make a great deal of property change hands and to bring much land into the market. The purchasers were generally persons who had acquired wealth by trade or manufactures. Will it be believed that, until a few years prior to this period, the greater part of the landed property of Prussia, as it consisted in what was called "Noble Estates," if put up for sale could not be bought by any but a nobleman? By this law the middle class in Prussia, the great keystone of society, acquired an influence amounting to a new existence.

Nor did the king enjoin penances on others to which he was not ready to submit himself. He made a sale of the royal domains at twenty-five years' purchase of the estimated rental. These lands too passed into the hands of purchasers not connected with the aristocracy. The economical were not more important than the political effects of this division of property. It has created a new class of the most valuable of all citizens. Every trace, not merely of subjection but of restraint, has been removed from the industrious peasants, and they have been at once converted into independent landed pro-

prietors. As an example of the effects of the edict, it may be remarked that, in a space of two hundred and sixty square miles, there is now twelve times as much landed property belonging to persons not noble as there was before the existence of the new law.

This great measure of changing at once peasants into landholders extended its bountiful influence to another numerous class of the community, namely, those citizens, not noble, who have come into possession of landed property by the sale of the royal domains; nor is it difficult to foresee the political consequence of such a body of citizens gradually rising in wealth and respectability, and dignified by the pride of possessing independent estates. In fact, the various orders of society in Prussia have been thrown into such a state of relation that pure despotism cannot long exist but by force, if even force could effect that object. Many other wholesome reforms accompanied the momentous decree. While the peasantry were set free, the aristocracy were deprived of that exemption from taxation, which, more than any thing else, rendered them odious to the country; and the whole

financial system acquired a uniformity and an equality of distribution, which simplified it to all and diminished the expense of collection while it increased the revenue. To say that Hardenberg committed no errors in this bold scheme of reform, would be saying more than could be predicated of any great political change that has ever been projected since the time of Solon. It was on the whole, however, a masterly as well as a peaceable reform, teeming with promises of prosperity to unborn generations.

It is, nevertheless, evident, in spite of these past political changes, that political reformation among the Prussians has not reached the close of its career. Practically speaking, they are well governed, and their courts of justice are excellent; but they have not yet a representative constitution, and they have not entirely shaken off the slough of despotism, though indeed it hangs loosely on them. From the good sense of the national character, it may be confidently anticipated that this change of the government skin will be peaceable; for the Prussians are too wise to have a sanguinary revolution. Of all nations, I should be inclined to assign the first place, in point of

morals, to the northern Germans. And whoever has travelled with open eyes, and a liberal mind through the dominions of Prussia, whoever has walked through her universities, and conversed with her learned men, will surely exclaim, as I did, before leaving her frontiers, "This is a noble people and worthy of the freest possible constitution!"

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

LONDON,
November, 1841

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FREDERICK THE GREAT

AND

HIS TIMES.

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

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THE commencement, as well as the conclusion, of the eighteenth century was a remarkable period, not less in a moral than in a political point of view. It was an epoch of transition from the barbarism and brutality of the middle ages to a refinement of manners, if not of sentiments, which, radiating from France as its centre, began to penetrate to the remotest parts of Europe. This refinement, too often coupled, it is true, with gross sensuality and contemptible effeminacy, had scarcely yet spread to all the states composing the Germanic empire, including the dominions of

the House of Brandenburg, to which these volumes specifically relate. *There* was still to be found more or less of that coarseness, selfishness, and bigotry, which so eminently characterize the boasted ages of chivalry; *there* still reigned "the right divine to govern wrong;" *there* still prevailed such disdain for that knowledge which not only is power, but which softens the mind and tames down the savage passions, that we shall find, even in the middle of last century, field-marshals, princes of the empire, who could not read a letter or write their own names.

But, if the times embraced in this work exhibit a want of that polish which is now deemed indispensable for good society, as well as for sovereigns and their courts, they present us, on the other hand, with picturesque forms, original characters, traits of eccentricity, which we should look for in vain among the people of the present day, and which impart intense interest to the portraits of individuals and to the descriptions of the scenes in which those individuals figured. Instruction and civilization have since laboured with such success to grind down the sharp angles in minds and dispositions, that they now appear to be all cut out after the same pattern, or cast in the same mould.

Let it not be imagined that this remark is made in disparagement of that moral equality which now pervades all the educated classes; for well am I aware, that the causes which have produced this

uniformity have operated, not by debasing genius to the level of the many, but by lifting the many more nearly to the level of genius. I have far too sincere a love for my kind, to lament that the age of impracticable men, with iron hearts and perverse wayward heads, is past; though the "fantastic tricks" of such of them as were "clad in a little brief authority" did certainly present materials infinitely more striking for biographical delineation than our common-place times are capable of furnishing.

In materials of this sort, the early part of the eighteenth century is particularly rich. During the last ten years, the researches of industrious foreigners have brought to light a vast mass of information absolutely new and original relative to that period; and I consider myself not a little fortunate in being the first to turn their labours, as far as they come within the scope of this work, to the advantage of the British public. Of the life, habits, and character of the second king of Prussia, Frederick William I., for instance, we have hitherto had few particulars, with the exception of the graphic family sketches left by his daughter, the margravine of Bayreuth. Coarse, eccentric, arbitrary, he formed, in his own country, one of the connecting links between the barbarism of preceding ages, and the enlightenment of a new era. Possessing an active, vigorous mind, and fair natural abilities, but which had been left nearly uncultivated, his character was made up of contra-

dictions: his firmness often degenerated into obstinacy, his frugality into meanness, his love of justice into cruelty, jealousy of his authority into the most revolting tyranny, not only in the administration of the state but also in his treatment of his own family, and his vehemence of temper into downright madness. I am not apprehensive of incurring censure for having devoted so large a portion of the first volume of my work to the illustration of the character of this singular sovereign—certainly one of the most singular that ever filled a throne. The novelty and the deep interest of the details will plead their own excuse.

The extraordinary son of an extraordinary sire, Frederick, surnamed by the common consent of mankind the Great, ascended the throne of Prussia just one hundred years ago. His education instilled into his mind tastes, sentiments, inclinations, prejudices, widely differing from those of his father. Though these brought him in early youth to the very foot of the scaffold, still we find him in maturer years adopting, not only in public business but also in private life, many of the habits and measures of his predecessor. Like him, he devoted prompt and incessant attention to all, even the minutest, details of administration; like him, he despised personal pomp and splendour; like him, he regulated his household on the most economical scale; like him, he issued ordinances prohibiting the lending of money to members of his family; and like him, he conde-

scended in moments of excitement to vent his irritation in acts of manual violence. Unlike his father, however, Frederick, warned by the treachery of royal favourites, was his own prime minister, the depository of his own secrets—he reigned by himself alone.

To Frederick, whose military predilections were directed to grand objects, his army was not a mere plaything. Seizing the opportune moment, he achieved the conquest of flourishing provinces, which consolidated the power of Prussia, but which it required all the energies of his mighty mind, and all the resources of his monarchy, to preserve. With half Europe leagued against him, he stood like a lion at bay, outnumbered, but unappalled, dealing, at some unexpected bound, deadly strokes, now upon one of his foes, now upon another. Had not the death of the empress Elisabeth withdrawn Russia from the ranks of his enemies, it is impossible to say what might have been the final result of this unparalleled struggle between forces so utterly disproportionate, in spite of all the fortitude, the decision, and the talents of the Prussian monarch, who was more than once urged by despair under his reverses to the brink of self-destruction.

Great in peace as in war, Frederick's efforts were directed for the remainder of his life to heal the wounds inflicted on his desolated dominions, and to promote the general prosperity and happiness of his people; and most deservedly did he earn by these

beneficent labours the enviable title of Father of his country. Till the last day of his life, his army, the basis of his power, received also his unremitting and particular attention; and he had the gratification to see the military men of all nations thronging to its periodical manœuvres, as to the first school in the world for the study of their profession. Beloved at home, feared abroad, having been for nearly half a century the sun around which the system of European politics revolved, Frederick expired full of years and of glory, bequeathing to his successor a state which he had raised from an inconsiderable monarchy to one of the first-rate powers of Europe.

Such were the principal personages in the scenes to which I am introducing the reader; and, if the life and character of Frederick William I. may be regarded as almost untrodden ground, I flatter myself that, from the numerous works called forth in Germany by the jubilee of the accession of his more illustrious son, I have reaped a rich harvest of details concerning him also, that will be equally new to the English reader.

Having glanced at the chief actors upon the stage of our history, let us turn to the state of society in general at the period at which it opens.

At the beginning and during the early part of the eighteenth century, most of the European courts, taking for their model that of the vain-glorious Louis XIV., were the seats of unbounded arrogance, ostentation, and prodigality; and in some of them

every vice that can stain humanity was encouraged by the example of the sovereigns and rulers. The abominations of a regent duke of Orleans are so notorious, that no reader of history can be unacquainted with them; and the following pages will show that they were nearly, if not fully, equalled by the profligate Augustus II. of Saxony. The petty princes of Germany collected around them, at the expense of their states, ambitious nobles, whom they invested with dignities, to which large salaries and no duties were attached; and they wrung from their subjects the produce of their toil, to be lavished on numerous horses, dogs, huntsmen, runners, and heiducks, and on the gratification of every sensual appetite. Daily necessaries were heavily taxed: a poll-tax, from which the very cow-boy was not exempted, was found inadequate to the expenditure; and, in order to revel with mistresses, to indulge in equivocal carnival follies, in useless camps, in expensive fire-works, and in hunting parties kept up for weeks together, the prince laid duties on articles which fashion had made necessaries—wigs, caps, hats, belts, and buckles.

The country gentlemen either thronged parasitically around the court, or secured for themselves the higher posts in the standing armies of those princes who were fond of playing at the game of war. Few of them deemed anything more than a mere smattering of knowledge requisite for their advancement; while those who thought to make

their fortune with certainty returned home from France familiarized with the manners and the vices of that country. The gentry of North Germany alone, rude in their energy but nobler in their virtue, managed themselves their rather scanty possessions, which were parcelled out among numerous sons, and lived simply, frugally, but more happily, upon the dues paid by their vassals and the produce of their lands.

In every part of Germany, rudeness and ignorance were inseparable companions. Upon the universities themselves the light was but just beginning to dawn. Thomasius and Wolff combated bigotry and error. The latter fell a victim to religious intolerance, and professors, wedded to the system of the middle ages, attacked and anathematized the high-spirited Thomasius, who was the first to venture to use the German language in his public lectures. The written language of Germany, once so racy and so rich in the mouth of Luther, was now disfigured by foreign idioms, and despised by scholars as rude and vulgar. During this period, not a solitary poem, not a book of any sort, worthy to be the precursor of a literature that now forms the central point of the mental efforts of all nations, made its appearance.

Thomasius, whom I have just mentioned, was the son of an eminent professor of Leipzig; he was himself appointed early to a chair in that university, but incurred the persecution of his colleagues by the freedom of his opinions and his steady hostility to

the superstitions of the times. They not only attacked him from the pulpit and in their lectures, but had influence even to procure an order from the court of Dresden for his arrest. Thomasius escaped their malice by removing, first to Berlin, and in 1690 to Halle. The extraordinary applause gained by his lectures, delivered before the Academy for the sons of gentlemen (Ritterakademie) of that place, led to the foundation of the university of Halle, of which he subsequently became first professor of law and director, with the title of Prussian privy-councillor. Here he continued to teach, with increasing reputation, till his death in 1728. Thomasius deserved well of humanity, by advocating liberty of the press and abolition of the torture, and also by exposing the absurd notions respecting witches, which still prevailed on the continent, not only in his time but till a much later period. The English reader will perhaps be startled to learn that, on the 2nd of April 1756, a girl of fourteen was beheaded and burnt at Landshut in Bavaria, "because she had had connexion with the devil, bewitched people, and produced storms;" and that, so late as 1780, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Glarus, in catholic Switzerland.

The schools taught barren phrases, and fostered prejudices in which the teachers themselves had grown up. Disputatious priests thundered from the pulpit against opinions differing from their own, and urged zealots to the establishment of a Lutheran

and Calvinist hierarchy. The clumsy and cruel machinery of the law was slowly set in motion; and the scale of justice was swayed by the influence of the powerful and the presents of the wealthy. A host of hungry advocates feasted upon the fat that dropped from law-suits, and the unintelligible style of the courts made the litigating parties tributary to them.

Physic and surgery were still wholly neglected. Quacks attended the fairs with medicines of their own preparing, and were accompanied by merry-andrews who extolled their nostrums; the bathing places exercised their authority quarterly, agreeably to the directions of the almanac; and even in the highest ranks the philosopher's stone was sought through the medium of the crucible.

The towns were either puffed up by the immunities derived from the imperial favour, and suffered the members of certain privileged families to fatten on the property of the community, or declined under the pressure of the system of guilds and monopolies. Neither wisdom nor talent, neither patriotism nor worth, was respected; but formality, etiquette, and self-interest, presided at the helm. The fondness for titles, though since severely lashed by satirists, is displayed even to this day in German superscriptions; and the combination of guilds continued till lately to obstruct the free development and progress of industry.

The learning and exercise of a trade were liable

to many impediments. The clever workman was driven away by his jealous fellows. The illegitimate child, the son of an actor or a skinner, were not admitted even among handicraftsmen, nor allowed burial after death in consecrated ground.

Still less gratifying is the consideration of the state of the military profession at this period. Into such degradation had it sunk, that, to those hosts which were to defend the country with their hearts' blood, that country contributed only the scum of its population. In all the highways, money was offered for recruits, to complete the regiments. In this rude horde of vulgar and unprincipled men, among which many criminals sought refuge, nothing but the severest punishments could maintain order and obedience: hence the citizens had daily to see chastisements, canings, running the gauntlet, and all sorts of ill usage, dispensed with blasphemous oaths and imprecations; and this barbarous treatment undermined the morality of the people before whose faces it was practised.

While this general pressure from above paralyzed all the moral energies of social life, the body too was imprisoned in the most extraordinary attire, which fashion had introduced from foreign countries. Worshipful magistrates and civil officers proudly wore prodigious wigs full of curls, as marks of their dignity, and paraded in velvet coats, richly embroidered, at public meetings and at the entertainments which have at all times heightened the festivities of

the Germans. The women painted their faces, wore patches, and cased themselves, with singular want of taste, in stomacher and hoop-petticoat.

Let us now turn to the political aspect of things at the commencement of the eighteenth century. All the countries of Europe were then convulsed by sanguinary wars. The despotic Louis XIV., Peter I., and Charles XII., tower far above all the other sovereigns by the greatness of their power, the rigour of their measures, and the obstinacy with which they prosecuted their plans, at the expense of the welfare of their people. That Louis, whom the French, with servile adulation, named the Great, had depopulated his country in destructive wars; shed a false splendour around his throne by oriental magnificence, and exhausted the resources of his kingdom. The industrious Protestants fled from his dominions, and partly found in Brandenburg protection for their faith and employment for their ingenuity. Austria, England, Germany, and Holland, armed against him on account of the Spanish succession. Austria sought to secure Spain for a prince of its house, England to annihilate the political supremacy of France. For fourteen years the war continued to rage in Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and Spain, till the political jealousy of England, court cabals, and the death of the emperor, terminated hostilities, after Louis had indeed been humbled, but, in the main, to the advantage of that monarch.

The giants of the North had a still longer struggle for victory. For twenty-two successive years the pugnacious Charles XII. kept up the flame, which entirely consumed the energies of Sweden. Forced at first into war by the perfidious policy of his neighbours, the bold conqueror, in a splendid career of victory, traversed like a brilliant meteor the regions of the North, more than once extended his colossal adversary in the dust, dethroned his ally, and afforded to his astonished contemporaries the romantic spectacle of his fall, and of his flight to seek an asylum with the dreaded Turk.

Lassitude is the natural consequence of such exertions. Fear of the expenses entailed by war and of its doubtful issue now keeps the sword in the scabbard, and the intrigues of diplomatists guide the politics of cabinets. Austria and France still vie with jealous rivalry for the favour of the other states; and, instead of debilitated Sweden, once the umpire of Europe at the peace of Westphalia, Russia steps into the rank of one of the great powers of Europe. In Poland and Saxony, the luxurious Augustus II. prodigally squanders the resources of his dominions; and the dependent spiritual electors of the German empire are bribed to espouse the politics of Austria or France. The bigoted Christian V. occupies the throne of Denmark; the imbecile Philip V. is seated on that of Spain; and the irresolute Charles VI., emperor of Germany, and sovereign of the extensive hereditary

dominions of Austria, is wholly incompetent to the political emergencies of the times.

In Prussia, a royal throne has been founded by means of a close adherence to the politics of Austria. The ostentatious Frederick I. seeks glory in the patronage of science and in the external display of royal magnificence; and his son, Frederick William I., in the careful administration of his dominions, and in the increase of his pecuniary resources and of his standing army.

Such were the persons and circumstances that had an undoubted influence, though, it is true, chiefly negative, upon the formation of Frederick the Great into a statesman and a sovereign,—an influence which he himself partly admits in the History of his Times. But, before we proceed to the particulars of his life, let us take a glance at the history of Prussia under his immediate predecessors.

The royal house of Prussia is descended from the very ancient Swabian family of Hohenzollern, the first known ancestor of which is Thassilo, count of Zollern, who died about the year 800. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, his descendants became burgraves of Nürnberg. Frederick VI., the eighth burgrave, having lent considerable sums of money and rendered other important services to the emperor Sigismund, was by him first appointed viceroy of Brandenburg and subsequently invested with the sovereignty of that country, together with

the electoral dignity and the office of archchamberlain of the empire. His descendants, by various successive acquisitions, and especially that of the duchy of Prussia in the early part of the seventeenth century, became the most powerful sovereigns in the north of Germany.

Frederick William, commonly called the Great Elector, born in 1620 at Berlin, succeeded his father, George William, on the 1st of December, 1640*. He assumed the government of the country under the most difficult circumstances. The thirty years' war was still ravaging Germany. Through the cruelties of the Swedes in the eastern provinces, and the pillage and extortion of the Spaniards and Dutch in Cleves and its dependencies, those parts of his dominions had been converted into a desert. "He was," says his great descendant, "a prince without territory, an elector without power, an ally without a friend." He found means, however, in a short time, to introduce order into the finances and the administration, and, by firm opposition and able negociation he contrived, at the peace of Westphalia in 1648, to obtain Halberstadt, Minden, and some other districts, as also the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, to compensate for the cession of Hither Pomerania; and

* It is a singular coincidence, that the year 40 of three succeeding centuries should have placed upon the throne a new ruler of this family: in 1640, in the person of the Great Elector; in 1740, of Frederick the Great; and in 1840, of his majesty Frederick William IV.

he subsequently secured the independent possession of the duchy of Prussia, previously held as a fief of the Polish crown. In the years of peace which succeeded, he promoted to the utmost of his ability the prosperity of his country, and, by his wisdom, justice, humanity, and valour, laid the foundation of the present power and importance of the Prussian monarchy.

In 1674, as a prince of the empire, the elector was obliged to take part in the war declared against Louis XIV., and joined the army in Alsace with 16,000 men, for whom he received subsidies from Austria, Spain, and Holland. The French cabinet, aware of the importance of such a force under such a leader, and incensed because Frederick William had brought against the common enemy a much larger number of troops than his contingent as a member of the empire, instigated the Swedes in Pomerania to take advantage of his absence to attack Brandenburg. The elector, who was then in winter-quarters on the Mayn, applied to Austria, Holland, Hanover, and the other German princes, for those succours to which he, who had involved himself in this war solely for the protection of the empire, had a just claim. For several months, he hoped to gain by negociation what he at last obtained in a few days by force of arms. Breaking up unexpectedly in the beginning of June from Franconia, he marched with such expedition, that, when he reached Magdeburg on the 11th of June

1675, the Swedes on the right bank of the Havel had not heard of his approach. The gates of Magdeburg were kept closed, and no person was allowed to leave the city. At nine o'clock in the evening of the following day, the whole of the cavalry, accompanied by ten light field-pieces, crossed the Elbe; one thousand picked infantry followed in 146 waggons, each of which carried a boat. In the evening of the 14th, the elector was a league from Rathenau. Six hundred infantry immediately crossed the Havel in the boats which they had brought with them. The cavalry had, partly by stratagem, partly by force, gained possession of the bridge. By day-break the town was surrounded, an entrance forced, and all the Swedes there cut in pieces or taken prisoners. By this surprise, the Swedish line, extending from Havelberg to Brandenburg, was broken at the centre. The elector had meanwhile caused the bridges across the stream running behind Fehrbellin to be broken down; and the Swedes now found that they could retreat no further without fighting. They halted, therefore, at Havelberg, a league distant from Fehrbellin. The elector attacked them on the morning of the 18th. His left wing at first suffered not a little from the enemy's artillery. At length he succeeded in breaking their cavalry. The Swedish infantry made a vigorous attack on the elector's cannon, but were repulsed by his life-guards and the Anhalt troops: victory declared in

his favour soon after eight o'clock, and the enemy retreated to Fehrbellin. During the night, the elector caused all the bridges to be replaced, so that next morning his troops could enter the town, where they took the greatest part of the Swedish artillery and baggage. In the general flight of the Swedes which ensued, many of them were made prisoners; the rest proceeded chiefly to Hamburg, where they entered into the service of other powers. Though the forces opposed to each other on this occasion were very small, those of the elector amounting to only 5600 men, and the Swedes to 8000, yet the results of this victory were most important to Brandenburg; for it destroyed the military reputation hitherto enjoyed by the Swedes, and delivered the country from all future annoyance from that quarter. A monument has of late been erected at Fehrbellin in commemoration of the event.

The last years of the life of the Great Elector were mostly passed in peace. As the father of his country, not less than as a prince aspiring to political importance in Europe, he devoted them most successfully to the revival of its prosperity, by the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. He peopled the destroyed or depopulated villages with new colonists, brought chiefly from the Netherlands; afforded pecuniary assistance to a large amount to impoverished proprietors of estates; sought to promote the internal

traffic of the country by the construction of the canal named after himself, and even to obtain for his subjects an immediate share in foreign commerce by the erection of several forts on the coast of Guinea. Trade and manufactures assumed a totally different aspect in the Marks. In consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in 1685, upwards of 20,000 Protestant refugees settled in the dominions of Brandenburg, where Frederick William, with equal liberality and policy, gave them a most cordial reception. It is impossible to calculate how largely these refugees contributed to the internal prosperity of the state; for they brought with them from their native country, at that time the most flourishing and the most polished in Europe, not only superior taste and skill in various branches of business till then unknown in the land of their adoption, but also a refinement of manners, a degree of civilization, a fondness for sciences and arts, which would there have been sought in vain among the middle classes of society. Neither was he unmindful of the foreign interests of his country; for he did not fail to raise his voice, though in vain, to demand from the emperor Leopold satisfaction of his just claims to the Silesian duchies of Jägerndorff, Ratibor, Oppeln, Brieg, Wohlau, and Liegnitz, which should have devolved to the house of Brandenburg, by virtue of solemn compacts, but of which Austria had taken possession as escheated fiefs. We shall see, in the

sequel, that the enforcement of these very claims rent the fine province of Silesia from the rule of the house of Austria, and placed it under the Prussian sceptre.

Frederick William expired on the 20th of April 1688, after giving his son a solemn admonition on the duties of a sovereign, and recommending his subjects, as a dying father would his children, to the care and protection of his successor. He bequeathed to him a state respected abroad, well organized and flourishing at home, of about 42,000 square miles.

Frederick the Great has in his works paid a deserved tribute to the memory of his illustrious ancestor, which attests, moreover, that he took this ancestor for his model, and that he aimed at the execution of those plans which the Great Elector laid down for the guidance of his posterity. "Frederick William," says he, "possessed all the qualities that can make a man great, and Providence afforded him abundant opportunities for developing them. He gave proofs of prudence at an age when youth in general exhibits nothing but errors; he never abused the heroic virtues, and applied his valour to the defence of his dominions and the assistance of his allies. He had a sound and unerring judgment, which made him a great statesman; he was active and affable, and this rendered him a good sovereign. His heart made ample amends for such faults as he may have committed. His soul was the seat of virtue; prosperity could not inflate,

nor adversity depress it. Magnanimous, generous, noble, kind, he always acted consistently with his character. He was the restorer and protector of his country, the founder of the power of Brandenburg, the arbiter of his equals, the honour of his people; in short, his life was his panegyric."

The first wife of the Great Elector was a princess of Orange, after whose death he married the princess Dorothea of Holstein-Glücksburg, widow of duke Christian Louis of Brunswick-Celle: she produced him five sons, but lived on very bad terms with the electoral prince, who was the issue of the first marriage. We are told by the margravine of Bayreuth, that Charles, the eldest son by the second marriage, was poisoned in Italy, by command of the king, his brother, and the second, Casimir, by a princess of Holstein, whom he had refused to marry. The others were Philip, Albert, and Louis, the first of whom, margrave of Schwedt, married a sister of prince Leopold of Anhalt.

CHAPTER II.

Frederick III. succeeds his Father, the Great Elector.—Sets aside his Will.—Joins the Allies against France.—Fosters French manners at his Court.—His fondness for magnificence.—Marriage of his Daughter.—His "Kitchen-room."—Obtains the Royal Dignity by the title of Frederick I.—His Journey to Königsberg, to his Coronation.—Works executed by him.—Intrigues of his Court.—Elevation and fall of his two first Ministers, Danckelmann and Wartenberg.—Singular scene at the Baptism of the Princess Wilhelmine.—Arrogance of the Countess Wartenberg.—Profusion of the Court and its effects.—Imitation of French manners and prevalence of the French language.—Traits indicative of the state of Civil Society.

FREDERICK III., as elector of Brandenburg, was born in 1657, at Königsberg. During the life-time of his father, he had been twice married; first to Elizabeth Henriette of Hesse Cassel, and secondly to Sophie Charlotte, princess of Hanover, sister to George, afterwards king of England, a princess distinguished for accomplishments of mind and person, to whom his court was indebted for the lustre diffused over it by the arts and sciences and for the graces of social life.

In consequence of the misunderstanding which prevailed between Frederick and his step-mother, the Great Elector resolved to disinherit him, but was persuaded by his ministers to alter his will, by virtue of which the electoral dignity and dominions were to devolve to his eldest son, and the other

possessions to his younger sons. Frederick, as electoral prince, had been on good terms with Austria, and, having obtained a promise of support from that power, on his father's death he declared his will invalid, took possession of the whole of his dominions, and assigned offices and apanages to his step-brothers.

Immediately after his accession, he sent 6000 men to William prince of Orange, to assist in his expedition against England. Though not endowed by nature with either the body or the vigour of a hero, Frederick did not disgrace the blood of the Hohenzollerns. In 1689, he joined, with 20,000 men, the army raised by the empire against France, whose troops were laying waste the Palatinate, and fought bravely in the battle of Ordingen and before Bonn. In the following year, after the battle of Fleurus, in which the allies were worsted, he assumed for a while the chief command, and checked the advance of the victorious enemy. Frederick was not present in the succeeding disastrous campaigns; but, in 1691, having joined the great alliance formed by the emperor, Spain, England, and Holland, against France, he sent 15,000 Brandenburgers to the Netherlands, to the assistance of William III., who assured the elector that it was "gratifying to see the beauty of his troops but still more to admire their valour."

But, while Frederick was opposing French politics and principles in the field, he was fostering

French manners, habits, and sentiments at home. At his court, nothing but French was spoken: the usages, etiquette, and way of living, were copied from the French. French refugees of noble families, who, as Protestants, were obliged to quit their country, brought with them, along with much that was beneficial, and for which Brandenburg was indebted to them, much also that was pernicious, and that gave to the court of Louis XIV. its seductive splendour

Frederick displayed throughout his whole life an extraordinary fondness for magnificence and ostentation. Thus, when, in 1690, he went to Königsberg to receive the homage of the duchy of Prussia, we are told by an eye-witness that "this journey resembled a triumph. In all the towns through which the elector passed, large triumphal arches were erected, and the streets were covered with carpets. At every relay, one thousand horses were in readiness. In those places which could not furnish accommodation for the whole court, wooden buildings, supplied with every convenience, were erected. Wherever the elector came, he found apartments, with his own furniture, his guard, his officers, so that he could scarcely perceive that he was not in his capital. The splendour prevailing at Königsberg, when he made his public entry, surpassed everything that had been seen on such occasions."

The increasing fondness for magnificence and pro-

fusion was particularly manifested in the festivities on account of the marriage of his only daughter by his first wife to the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, in May and June 1700. On the wedding-day, the court exhibited such pomp as had never before been witnessed. The jewels worn by the bride were valued at four millions of dollars. She had a coronet, set with diamonds and pear-shaped pearls, which alone was estimated at one million. Her train was borne by six maids of honour, who, on account of the great weight of the precious stones with which it was garnished, had two pages to assist them. The total weight of the bridal attire is said to have been nearly a hundred pounds. At the dinner which followed the nuptial ceremony, besides the table of the sovereign, there were eighty-six others for the entertainment of the guests.

On the third day, after a grand baiting of bears, buffaloes, and wild bulls, caught in the forests of Lithuania, which took place in the park, the elector invited the whole company to supper, in what was called the "Kitchen-room." The fare here was known to be particularly sumptuous, the table being supplied by twelve master-cooks, who vied with each other in the display of their skill. But this time, when the guests entered the apartment, no table whatever was to be seen. Many began to surmise that the elector had played them a trick, when, all at once, the ceiling opened, and, to the astonishment of all present, a profusely-covered table descended,

as if by enchantment. Still greater was their surprise, when, after some time, this table sank of itself through the floor, and a third and a fourth descended from the ceiling like the former.

With this decided propensity of Frederick to ostentation, we need not wonder that he should have laboured with indefatigable zeal for the attainment of the royal dignity. There is no doubt that his pride had been hurt when, at an interview with king William III., who was not a little indebted to him for his elevation to the throne of England, a common chair, and not an arm-chair, was placed for him; and it is equally certain that the exaltation of another of his colleagues, Frederick Augustus of Saxony, to be king of Poland, had excited in him an ardent desire to acquire equal rank.

Notwithstanding the disapprobation of his council of state, and the opposition made to his wish at the imperial court, the sanction of the emperor to the assumption of the coveted dignity was at length obtained, in November 1700, through the machinations of ambassadors, bribes, and flattery, and by the sacrifice of Frederick's independence. The conditions were, that he should relinquish the arrears of subsidies due from Austria for a corps of 6000 men, furnished by him to assist in the war against the Turks; that, in the approaching war of the Spanish succession, he should maintain 10,000 men at his own cost; that, in all affairs of the empire, he should vote with the emperor; and that he should not

withdraw his German dominions from their obligations to the empire. His recognition as king, by the title of Frederick I., was followed by that of all the other powers of Europe, excepting the Pope, France, Poland, and the Teutonic Order. So impressed was the celebrated general and statesman, prince Eugene, with the mischief with which this measure was fraught for the house of Austria, that he emphatically declared, that the emperor ought to hang the ministers who had given him such perfidious advice. In the war which ensued, Frederick sent 20,000 men to the Rhine, and 6000 to Italy. They fought under prince Leopold of Anhalt on the Upper and Lower Rhine, at Hochstädt, at Turin, and in Belgium.

If Frederick, as elector, had surrounded himself with royal splendour, he found in the acquisition of a crown a favourable occasion for increasing this splendour, and for displaying it immediately in the ceremonies of his coronation. Though it was the depth of winter, he would not defer these ceremonies, and the court therefore set out on the 17th of December 1700, for Königsberg, the capital of the new kingdom. There was then no regular road between Berlin and that city; and, even in favourable summer weather, the route was an alternation of deep sand, morass, and dykes; but in winter, especially after a frost, it was considered wholly impracticable. The elector, nevertheless, resolved upon this journey, of the expense of which

some idea may be formed, when it is known, that it required thirty thousand horses, besides all those belonging to the royal stables. The train formed four divisions. The first, in which were the king, the queen, and their immediate attendants, consisted of two hundred state carriages and baggage waggons. During this journey, rigid etiquette seems to have been observed; for margrave Albert, the king's brother, in a velvet coat and huge wig, occupied the coachman's place on the box of the queen's carriage. In the second division were the prince royal and his retinue; in the third, the officers of the court; in the fourth, the guards and soldiery. Though fresh horses were kept in readiness at every post station for the first division, still twelve days were occupied in this journey, which may now be performed conveniently in three. The coronation took place on the 18th of January 1701, in the great audience-chamber. The king, having placed the crown upon his head himself, and taken up the sceptre, fetched the queen, who received her crown from his hand. A procession was then formed to the church belonging to the palace. The dress of the king on this occasion was scarlet, richly embroidered with gold, with diamond buttons, each of which cost three thousand ducats. Over this, he wore a purple mantle, sprinkled with crowns and eagles, in the clasp of which glistened three diamonds, valued at one hundred thousand dollars. The head of the king was covered with a wig

descending in many hundred curls, and upon it was a crown of pure gold, the rim of which was not composed, as usual, of foliage, but of diamonds, placed close together, weighing, some of them 80, 90, 100, and even 130 grains. The sceptre, a present of the czar Peter's, was of gold and silver, thickly set with brilliants, adorned at top with two rubies of extraordinary size, above which a golden eagle extended his wings. The jewels of the queen's crown and dress were estimated at three millions of dollars. The order of the Black Eagle was instituted the day before the coronation, and the prince royal was the first knight invested with the insignia.

It would be unjust, however, to suppose that Frederick never incurred expense but for the gratification of mere vanity. The erection of the palaces of Berlin and Charlottenburg, the bronze statue of the Great Elector on the Long Bridge, the institution of an Academy of Arts and a Society of Sciences, the additions to the gallery of pictures, to the cabinet of antiquities and coins, and to the museum of curiosities, the foundation of the Friedrichsstadt in Berlin, the gardens of Charlottenburg, and many other undertakings, attest his desire to transmit his memory to posterity in monuments worthy of his dignity, though in these works the expense was not always in due proportion to the means. Hence it was that Frederick gave his assent to extraordinary expedients for raising money. Thus Caetano, the

alchymist, contrived to cajole him with his tricks; but the crown prince, who scrutinized his proceedings more closely, detected the deception, and learned from it this valuable lesson for his life, that the true art of making gold and amassing treasure, consists, alike for the private citizen and the king, in economy, industry, and close attention to business.

Frederick I. was naturally of a mild disposition, —perhaps too mild for a sovereign. His affability and good nature gained him the affection and sympathy of his people, which were often enough unequivocally and spontaneously expressed, as well on mournful as on joyous events. But this disposition of the monarch was frequently abused by those immediately about him. The sovereign had, in his time, no means of learning the state and wants of the country but through his ministers; and whichever of these could contrive to secure his confidence and favour might keep him in error and delusion till another thrust him from his place. Hence his court is described as having been "under the guidance of favourites and women, and exhibiting an incessant ebb and flood of intrigues and cabals. One undermined the other, and the fortress of Spandau was seldom without prisoners of state." Another contemporary writer says: "It was scarcely possible to open the eyes of the monarch, because all the avenues to him were occupied by the high chamberlain and his creatures, who contrived to intercept everything that could have apprised him of the real

state of the country. They surrounded him with pomp and splendour, showed him only the fair side of everything, and Frederick imagined that his subjects were happy, and that his government was the most beneficent that ever existed."

Hence, in the history of Frederick's reign, the rise and fall of two first ministers of state occupy a prominent place. The first of these, baron Danckelmann, a native of Lingen, had so recommended himself to the Great Elector in a journey to Holland, in 1663, by his acquirements, activity, and integrity, that he appointed him tutor to his son, to whom he gave many proofs of the noblest self-denial. Frederick, on his accession to the government, appointed him councillor of state and of war, and subsequently prime minister. He gradually relinquished to him the management of public business, with such extensive power, that no order or decree issued by Frederick himself was valid till it had been subscribed by Danckelmann. At court he was called "the Great," "the Omnipotent." It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, Danckelmann should become an object of envy to the other courtiers, and that this indefatigable statesman, on whose shoulders the whole burden of the administration rested, should at times go so far as to lecture even his master. But the immediate cause of that master's displeasure probably was his inability to raise, on all occasions, the sums necessary for defraying the extravagant expenses of the court; so

that he was sometimes obliged to disappoint the wishes of the elector. Thus he once refused him money to go to the fair of Frankfurt on the Oder. Angry at such control, the elector observed to some of those about him, who manifested a more obsequious disposition, "Danckelmann thinks to play the elector, but I will show him who is master." Such an expression was quite enough to set the minister's enemies to work; they took care, by all sorts of malicious reports, to keep up the discontent of the elector, and Danckelmann, aware that his time was over, begged permission to resign his office, on account of the state of his health. As the elector delayed to reply, the count repeated his request, on which Frederick signified his compliance in a letter written with his own hand, in which he says, "The elector is satisfied with the faithful and indefatigable services rendered to him with extraordinary assiduity by the chief president, from his tender infancy to the present time, in prosperity and in adversity, and would have been glad if he could have continued to serve him." As a proof of his unchanged favour, the elector allowed him to retain his former rank, and granted him a pension of ten thousand dollars, with liberty to reside at Cleves, Neustadt, or Berlin. The ex-minister chose the latter; but his enemies, apprehensive lest he should regain his influence over the elector, brought forward a variety of charges against him, which only prove the base dispositions and sentiments of his adversaries. The misled

sovereign then first banished him to Neustadt, soon afterwards ordered him to be arrested, and, without trial, confiscated his property and confined him at Spandau.

Danckelmann transmitted a defence against the charges alleged against him; it was referred to a commission, the report of which was so unfavourable, that he was sent into confinement for life to the fortress of Peiz: his pension was withdrawn; his house in Berlin was confiscated, together with his estates, and appropriated by the name of the Princes' House to the reception of princely personages visiting Berlin. The prisoner did not cease protesting his innocence and urgently demanding a new inquiry; the result was, the indulgence of going under a sufficient guard to the distance of half a league from the fortress. At the intercession of the princess royal, on the birth of her first child in 1707, the king pardoned Danckelmann, after a confinement of ten years. He obtained his liberty and a pension of two thousand dollars, on condition that he would take up his residence at Cottbus, not approach nearer to Berlin than ten miles, and give an undertaking not to proceed at law or otherwise against any person on account of his imprisonment. A promise was made that part of his property should be restored, if he would renounce the rest. Danckelmann declared his readiness to comply with all these conditions, but insisted on a formal acknowledgment of his innocence, which was refused.

One of the first acts of Frederick William I., on his accession, was to restore this ill-used statesman to his honour and his rights.

At the head of the party which occasioned Danckelmann's fall was Kolb, who had recommended himself by supple manners and insinuating address, and obtained the appointment of high chamberlain. As such, he had the inspection over the palaces, availed himself of his master's confidence to interfere in various matters of administration, and was at length created count of the empire by the title of count Wartenberg. On the fall of Danckelmann, he became his successor, with still more unlimited power. As the especial favourite of the king, he contrived to unite in his person offices producing a yearly revenue of 123,000 dollars, so that his property from this source and from the liberal presents of the king is said to have amounted to several millions.

Wartenberg set his invention to work to fill the coffers exhausted by the extravagance of the court. Without consulting the states, as was the usual practice, a heavy tax was laid not only on heads, but on the wigs worn by them, as though the weight of those enormous coverings was not enough for them to bear. Every periwig was required to pay a stamp tax; this tax was farmed to a Frenchman, and as this "electoral wig-inspector" kept a sharp look-out by means of his sub-inspectors, many a shorn head was obliged to bare itself in the draught

in the open streets of Berlin, to its no small annoyance. By degrees, almost all the articles of apparel were subjected to a stamp duty,—even shoes, stockings, boots, and hats; and the minister not confining his attention to the lords of the creation, did not disdain to declare hogs' bristles a monopoly of the crown. But it was not these petty vexations, it was not the reckless means to which he resorted for supplying the expenses of a luxurious court, but the intolerable arrogance of his wife, that raised such a storm as produced his downfall.

The countess Wartenberg was the daughter of a man named Ricker, who kept a wine-shop at Cleves. As the wife of Bidekap, the king's valet de chambre, she had contrived to gain the favour of the minister, who married her after her husband's death. That she had some influence over the king, especially after the decease of queen Sophie Charlotte in 1705, is evident from the fact, that he induced the duchess of Holstein-Beck by a present of ten thousand dollars to give the precedence to the countess Wartenberg on court-days. So jealous was she to maintain her *pas* immediately after the princesses of the blood, that she involved herself on this subject in so serious a quarrel with the wife of the Dutch ambassador, that, as Pöllnitz remarks, the whole political system of Europe was well nigh upset by it. The kings of Poland and Denmark were then in Berlin, having come to stand sponsors for the princess Frederica Sophia

Wilhelmine, daughter of the prince royal. The king invited his whole court to the christening. The ladies assembled in the apartments of the princess royal to attend the margravine of Schwedt, the king's sister-in-law, who carried the infant to the church. The countess Wartenberg and madame Lintlo were also there. As soon as the procession began to move, the countess immediately followed the margravine. Just as they were going out of the last door of the apartments, madame Lintlo, who had concealed herself behind a curtain, darted from her hiding place, and got before the countess; the latter seized her clothes and held her fast. As the Dutch lady, who possessed more agility than strength, was unable to advance, she made a sudden turn, threw the head-dress of the countess into great disorder, and was repaid by the latter with some not very gentle punches in the ribs. The grand master of the ceremonies had the greatest difficulty to part the combatants, whom a cloud of powder from the disordered toupees concealed for a while from the view of the astonished spectators. The countess of Wartenberg retained possession of the field of battle, and carried off a fragment of her adversary's head-dress as a token of victory. Not content with that trophy, she demanded satisfaction of the king, who took up the matter very seriously: he immediately forbade madame Lintlo the court, and insisted that she should beg pardon of the countess. As

M. Lintlo protested against such a humiliation, the king desired the states-general to recall him, and threatened, in case of madame Lintlo's refusal to beg pardon, to withdraw his auxiliary force in Flanders. This menace had such an effect that madame Lintlo was obliged to submit.

After this victory, the arrogance of the countess had no bounds. One day, having been invited by the queen (Sophia Louisa, Frederick's third consort), with other ladies of the court, to assist in working some embroidery destined for his majesty, she ordered her coffee to be brought after her by her own valet. The queen was so incensed, that she called for people to throw the impudent woman out of window, and forbade her ever to cross the threshold of her apartments again. The king was not able to obtain any other satisfaction for his consort, than that the countess begged her pardon.

Owing to this circumstance, a party was formed at court, which swore the ruin of the house of Wartenberg, and only awaited a favourable opportunity to fulfil the vow. It was not long before one occurred. Madame de Matuoff, whose husband was minister of state of the czar, and ambassador to the states-general, passed through Berlin. M. Licht, the czar's minister plenipotentiary in Berlin, gave in honour of her a grand entertainment, to which the most distinguished personages, and of course countess Wartenberg, were invited. After keeping the party waiting a considerable time, she

sent her equerry to the Russian ambassador, to ask, if madame de Matuoff desired to have precedence before her. He sent word that this was not to be avoided, and she absented herself from the dinner. Madame de Matuoff took offence, and complained to the king, who, on account of the threatening attitude of Charles XII., was particularly anxious to be on good terms with the czar, and ordered the countess to go to madame de Matuoff, and tell her, that so long as M. de Matuoff should be ambassador she would give her the precedence

This was regarded at court as a humiliation of countess Wartenberg: it was concluded that she had lost the king's favour, and preparations were made for springing the mines formed against herself and her husband; but this time the operators went to work more cautiously than on a former occasion, when the marshal of the court, von Wengsen, the accuser of Wartenberg, was sent for his well-meant report to a fortress. The attack was now made at the instigation of the prince royal by the two Messrs. von Kamecke, who had risen in a short time from pages, to be, the one grand master of the wardrobe, and the other a minister of state. The overthrow of the high chamberlain was not the only object; that of count Wittgenstein, grand marshal of the court, was to be first effected. The latter was accused of malversation, in regard to a fund set apart for the relief of sufferers by fire; and though he declared that he could prove that he had ex-

pended those moneys agreeably to the command of the king and the high chamberlain, yet he was apprehended at night in his own house by a lieutenant and twenty men. Next morning, a colonel of the guard, and the treasurer of the order of the Black Eagle, were commissioned to demand from him the insignia of the order; after which he was sent under an escort to Spandau. In six months' time he was set at liberty, obliged to pay a fine of eighty thousand dollars, and banished for ever from the king's dominions.

The Messrs. von Kamecke had, according to the wish of the prince royal, taken occasion to implicate count Wartenberg in this affair, and they completely succeeded. Two days after the arrest of Wittgenstein, the king sent von Ilgen, secretary of state, to demand the seal, and to intimate to the count that he should retire to his estate at Wolfersdorff. Wartenberg implored permission to see the king once more; it was granted, and though the count embraced his majesty's knees, and moved him even to tears, and though the king gave him a valuable ring as a token of his continued favour, still he granted him his dismission with the assurance, that "the welfare of the state required it." The count accordingly retired to his estate, but Messrs. von Kamecke, thinking that it might be dangerous for him to reside so near the capital, induced the king to order him to quit his dominions and repair to Frankfurt on the Mayn. The king

demanded the delivery of his chamberlain's key, and the patent of hereditary postmaster-general, but settled on him a pension of twenty thousand dollars. According to Pöllnitz, his wife's diamonds were estimated at five hundred thousand dollars, and the fortune of the count at several millions.

The fondness for splendour and the profusion of the court could not but produce an unfavourable effect on the manners and way of life of society in general, especially in the capital. In the lower circles, as well as in the higher, regard was had only to external appearance; intrinsic merit and abilities were nothing, title and dress everything. "Expense in dress," says one who lived much nearer to those times than we do, "prevailed to such an extent at the court of Berlin, that many persons of high rank ran themselves into debt by it; and they complained, in their justification, of the necessity of making an appearance suitable to their condition, and being thus obliged to ruin themselves. Count Wittgenstein calculated the expense for his wardrobe, on occasion of the marriage of the prince royal, at eight thousand dollars. I have known," continues the same writer, "old people who lived in those times, and were so infatuated with them that they were never tired of praising their pomp and splendour. For them our festivities and ceremonies had no attraction; they could talk of nothing but what they had seen at the court of Frederick I., of the constant bustle that prevailed at the palace, of

the multitude of servants in their magnificent liveries, and of the trumpeters, drummers, and Swiss guard, presenting such a brilliant sight. An old bedchamber woman to queen Sophia Dorothea assured me, that to her the palace now wore a gloomy, nay, frightful aspect; and that she seldom or ever went to it, because the remembrance of the splendour which had once reigned there forced tears from her eyes."

Such, indeed, was the general disposition to imitate the profusion of the court, that Frederick, some years before he assumed the royal dignity, thought it right to issue an ordinance for the repression of luxury in dress and at table. But what could such ordinances avail, while the court was every year displaying increased magnificence and prodigality! This was not the case at the Prussian court only: it was the consequence of the general mania which then prevailed among monarchs for imitating Louis XIV., and among their subjects, as well as themselves, for aping the manners and dress of the French, whose language was the only one spoken by educated persons. In this point, indeed, Louis may be said to have realized his scheme of a universal monarchy. It is true, there were not wanting writers to reprobate this servile adoption of everything French, and to place before the eyes of their countrymen the ruinous consequences which must result from it. "It is but too well known," observes one of these, "that since the French demon

has reigned over us Germans, we have so changed our lives, manners, and customs, that we might fairly pass, if not for naturalized Frenchmen, yet for some new nation transformed into French. Formerly the French were not esteemed by the Germans; now-a-days we cannot live without them. Everything must be French—French language, French dresses, French dishes, French furniture, French dances, French music, French diseases, and, I much fear me, a French death will follow, because the sins hereby committed prognosticate nothing else. Most German courts are modelled after the French, and whoever wishes now-a-days to obtain an appointment in them must understand French, and above all, must have been in Paris, which is, as it were, a university of all vice; if not, he must not expect anything at court."

"When children," says this same moralist, "have scarcely begun to talk, and are but four or five years old, they are sacrificed without mercy to the French Moloch: they are introduced to French gallantries, and their parents begin to think of a French language-master and dancing-master. In France nobody speaks German, unless it be the Germans resident there with one another: but among us Germans the French language is become so common, that in many places shoemakers, tailors, children, and servants, are accustomed to speak it."

In lashing the dress, especially of the ladies, this censor proceeds: "Their heads look enough to

frighten one, and one does not know whether they are pigs' heads, or whether they are carrying baskets with something to sell. How many thousand changes have there been in caps! Sometimes they wear standards, sometimes cornet caps, sometimes flying colours, sometimes lapwings' nests. And the worst of it is, that not only do the ladies go to France on account of such things, but they have models—completely-dressed dolls—sent to them from France at a great expense, that they may copy exactly those devilish vanities. How many millions of money have been sent of late years to France for ribands, that we Germans may not be a whit behind the French in this particular!

"It is well known, moreover, that the French are an amorous and lewd people, and hence it is that they so commonly have Venus blossoms (*Veneris-blumen*) on their faces. It was to cover these that they invented patches*. This practice has been aped by our German damsels, who frequently cut their patches in the shape of flies, beetles, hares, asses, bears, sheep, oxen, and hogs; so that the French have not devised anything, be it ever so silly and absurd, that the Germans have not made still more silly and absurd in the imitation."

Dr. Förster, in his biography of Frederick Wil-

* Upon the same principle, that portion of the female paraphernalia called *couvre-enfant* was brought into vogue, for the purpose of hiding the tell-tale evidences of frailty in unmarried ladies.

liam I., concludes that the work from which these passages are extracted must have fallen into the hands of that prince, and have had some influence in producing that decided aversion which, after his accession to the throne, he invariably manifested for French manners, sentiments, literature, and politics.

To afford some idea of the state of civil society at this period, in regard to jurisprudence, it may be observed that, on the estates of the nobles and gentry in the electorate of Brandenburg, the peasants were still serfs; that torture was still applied in all the law courts; and that proceedings for witchcraft were still carried on, even in Berlin itself.

CHAPTER III.

Queen Sophie Charlotte; her Character.—Frederick William, prince royal; his Birth; his childish Tricks.—Count Alexander Dohna appointed Governor to the Prince; his Character.—Dislike of Frederick William to useless expense.—Anecdotes.—J. F. Cramer, Sub-governor.—Succeeded by Rebeur.—School Exercises of the Prince.—Visit to the Netherlands.—Fondness of King William III. for the Prince.—William purposes to secure for him the succession to the English Throne.—Is prevented from taking him to England.—Disposition of the Prince to Economy.—Violence of his Temper.—Dangerous expedient for softening it.—Origin of his antipathy to George II., and of his fondness for tall Soldiers.—Count Fink appointed his Governor.—Death of the Queen.—Betrothal of the Prince to Sophie Dorothea, Princess of Hanover.—Elected Rector of the University of Frankfurt on the Oder.—Marriage of the Prince.—Count Cactano de Ruggiero, the Gold-maker.—Baptism of the Prince Royal's first Child.—The King marries a third Wife.—The Prince joins the allied Army in the Netherlands.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Remarkable presentiment of General Tettau.—Birth and Death of another Son of the Prince Royal's.—Settlement of the Orange Inheritance.—Misunderstanding between the King and the Prince.—Their reconciliation.—Birth and Baptism of Frederick the Great.—Remarkable Aloe.—Visit of the Czar Peter.—Death of the King.—His Character.

SOPHIE CHARLOTTE, mother of Frederick William I., a princess of Brunswick-Hanover, belongs to the celebrated women of her time; and whatever might be the splendour that Frederick I. diffused around his court by his lavish magnificence, its brightest star was incontestably the queen. At the

court of Paris and Versailles, she had, at the age of fourteen, attracted the notice of Louis XIV., by her beauty and understanding, to such a degree that he destined her for the consort of the dauphin; but political considerations prevented the fulfilment of this intention. Sophie Charlotte passed two years with her mother at this school of courtly manners and vanity, and she manifested ever afterwards a strong predilection for French culture and habits. As princess royal, she had among her usual society a number of accomplished Frenchmen, who, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had followed the invitation of the Great Elector, and sought an asylum in his dominions. Gregorio Leti, a contemporary writer, cannot sufficiently extol the amiableness of the princess royal. With Italian hyperbole, he calls the court over which Sophie Charlotte presided, "an earthly paradise, in which the electress is a tree of life, whose angelic virtues and heavenly perfection impart animation, spirit, and grace, to all around her." She spoke French so perfectly, that the natives of France presented to her often put the question, the most flattering that could then be asked, whether the electoral princess could speak German too. Such questions ought not to surprise us, at a time when the French guests of a German prince remarked, with humorous astonishment, that "he was the only foreigner at the table."

But it was not the insipid conversation and the flattery of courts that could satisfy the inquiring

mind of Sophie Charlotte. This the great Leibnitz, who corresponded with her on profound philosophical subjects, learned from experience, and her curiosity made him complain to his friends, that the queen was not satisfied unless he gave her "the why of the wherefore;" while she wrote to her friend mademoiselle von Pöllnitz, that she had a good mind to be angry with the philosopher, "because he treated everything so superficially with her. I begin," she adds, "to distrust my understanding, for he seldom answers with precision on the subjects that I propose." Still, such a letter from Leibnitz, much as it left to be desired, afforded her more satisfaction than the most brilliant *assemblée*. "Leibnitz," she writes another time, "has lately sent me a dissertation on infinitesimals (*les infiniment petits*): who, my dear, is better acquainted with these things than I am?" In this expression she alludes to the king, her husband, whom she was not accustomed to spare in her remarks or letters to her intimate friends. Thus, possessing no political influence whatever, she contented herself with joking in the frivolous manner which she had brought from the court of Louis XIV.; and speaking of her position as "the part of a theatrical queen which she was mortified to have to play in Prussia along with her Esop." Thus too she writes in 1702 to her friend Pöllnitz, that the king, by sending his pillows, had announced a visit for the evening: "I must finish, my dear friend: the formidable pillows

are come. I am going to the altar. What think you? Will the victim be sacrificed?" Expressions of this kind, thrown out in a playful or in an ill humour, half in jest and half in earnest, gave rise to the notion that the royal pair were always on bad terms. Nothing can be farther from the fact, if we may credit the testimony of count Christopher Dohna, who was honoured with equal confidence by the king and queen, who belonged to the circle of their select intimates, and declares in his Memoirs, that "Sophie Charlotte was fondly attached to the king, and that she treated with incredible indulgence all those to whom she knew her beloved husband to be well affected."

Frederick William, the only child of this princess, was born at the electoral palace of Cöln on the Spree, the $\frac{4}{14}$th of August, 1688. His parents were the more rejoiced at his birth, as their first child, Frederick Augustus, had died in 1686. The astrologers lost no time in predicting his future fortunes from the constellation of the planets. The Swedish general Welling, who calculated his nativity, found in the constellation the sign of sterility, and foretold that he would perform his greatest military achievements in the year 1720. The first prophecy was contradicted by his numerous family of children, and the second was not fulfilled, as Frederick William was not engaged in any war in 1720 He was baptized on the 12th of August, and named after his grandfather, the Great Elector.

At his birth he was a remarkably fine, strong, healthy infant, and the reigning electress of Hanover, who had come to Berlin in order to be near her beloved daughter in her confinement, shed tears of joy over her new-born grandson, and earnestly begged his mother to let her take him to Hanover, promising to bring him up with the utmost tenderness and affection. The elector could not comply with this request, but assured her that he would not fail to bring the child to Hanover, as soon as he was old enough to bear the journey. The infant was committed to the care of madame de Montbeil, a French Protestant refugee, who became, by her second marriage, madame de Rocoulles, and whose care of him in childhood Frederick William rewarded by committing to her charge his own eldest son. And, indeed, madame de Montbeil deserved this confidence, not only by the conscientious performance of her duty, but by the many alarms and anxieties which his impetuous disposition occasioned her.

Some of his childish tricks are characteristic enough to be recorded. One morning, when he was four years old, he was playing, while being dressed, with his shoes, and put the silver buckle belonging to one of them in his mouth. The person who was dressing him would have taken it from him, on which he swallowed it, and exulted not a little at his success. Madame de Montbeil and the other attendants were in the utmost con-

sternation; medical assistance was instantly procured, and when the electress was informed of the circumstance, "her cries," says a contemporary, "would have melted rocks." The elector could not get over the fright; the whole court was in an uproar; but the prince laughed and played; the doctor prescribed an aperient, and on the second day the buckle passed off by the natural way. This buckle is still preserved in the royal cabinet of curiosities: it is of silver gilt, but the gilding seems to have suffered in the process that it underwent. It is a full inch long, and half an inch broad, and has a moveable tongue, so that there certainly was cause for apprehension.

The prince was particularly delighted when he could occasion a fright to his anxious gouvernante. One day, when he was completely dressed to be taken into company at court, he was all at once missed, and after a long search, madame de Montbeil found him in the chimney, and perceived to her horror that his powdered head and his coat of gold stuff had brought away several black patches from his hiding place.

At another time, madame de Montbeil was obliged to threaten him with punishment for some misbehaviour. While she had stepped for a moment into the next room, the prince threw up the window, and clambered upon the parapet. On her return, madame de Montbeil nearly fainted with fright; but the prince declared that he would throw

himself into the Spree, unless his gouvernante would promise not to punish him. Of course she was glad enough to comply; but his fond mother, when informed of this adventure, perceived that it was high time to take him out of the hands of women, and to commit his education to male instructors.

It was before this last adventure that the electress, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of her mother, took her son with her to Hanover. In the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards George II. of England) Frederick William found a lively playmate, but George, being the elder, assumed a certain authority over his young companion, who, being the stronger of the two, resisted his pretensions; and hence, it is said, arose a dislike, which time served only to confirm and increase. The disagreement of the two princes rendered it necessary to part them, and Frederick William was taken back to Berlin, where his mother selected for his governor count Alexander Dohna, who, with his younger brother Christopher, had quitted French Switzerland and entered into the service of Brandenburg, in the time of the Great Elector. He had distinguished himself as a soldier in several campaigns, been employed in diplomatic missions to Poland and Sweden, and promoted to be lieutenant-general and governor of Pillau in 1694.

"Count Alexander Dohna," says Pöllnitz, "was a man of fine figure and prepossessing appearance. His manners were austere and stoic, and he was

sincerely pious. Probity and honour guided him in all his actions; but, as he had served in the army from his youth, he had acquired a proud, haughty, commanding manner, which did not gain him the favour of the courtiers. Without being a great genius, he possessed the art of giving particular weight to everything he said. As he had closely studied the character of the electress, to whom he was entirely devoted, he was, like her, always adverse to the favourites, and ready to censure their proceedings as well as those of the elector. He found fault with the latter, more especially on account of his love of splendour and profusion, so contrary to his own economical principles, and certainly endeavoured early to prepossess the mind of his pupil against vanity and useless expense." This was no difficult matter, for in his boyhood Frederick William manifested no pleasure in the extravagant splendour with which he was surrounded. An eye-witness relates, that "when the first coat like a man's was made for the prince, bordered with broad gold lace, he looked at it with tolerable satisfaction, and quietly suffered it to be put on him; but when a dressing-gown of brocade was brought to him, he examined it before and behind, inside and outside, and then, snatching it up, flung it into the fire, and, as it was winter time, there happened to be a very large one." Another not less decided indication of his aversion to useless expense was given by him while prince royal. One day, on entering the king's

ante-chamber, he there found several courtiers and chamberlains, seated round a blazing fire. The prince, who had begun to wear a uniform, had been exempted from the burden of a flowing wig, and had only a bob; being in a merry vein, he took off his light head-covering and consigned it to the flames, with the exclamation, "A scoundrel who will not do the same!" The courtiers looked aghast at each other, but they had no choice left; the grave air and emphatic tone of the prince royal convinced them that it was not meant for a joke. One after the other lifted the huge mass, beplastered with pomatum and powder, from his bare sconce, and with unwilling hand committed it to the flames. Not merely did the courtiers regret the loss of an expensive apparatus, which, mostly imported from Paris, and chargeable with a high stamp duty, cost two hundred dollars, or perhaps a larger sum, but what was still more painful to them was to see their hopes of the future government of such a sovereign vanish in smoke, which left behind it not the most agreeable odour.

Danckelmann, the minister, who had been thwarted in the design of obtaining for his son the appointment of governor to the prince royal, contrived to secure that of sub-governor for the secretary of legation, J. F. Cramer, who had been tutor in his family. Cramer was not only a distinguished jurist, but had acquired some reputation for his philological attainments, and as a writer, he deserves

honourable mention for having, with German bluntness, exposed the arrogant pretensions of French authors. When Father Bouhours started the question, which could not be very flattering to German pride, "Whether it was possible for a German to possess *esprit*," Cramer answered him in a "Vindication of the German name against certain French slanderers;" and, though he employed Latin weapons, the spirit by which he was actuated was not the less laudable. There can be no doubt that Cramer's German spirit had an influence upon the prince, who had thus far been surrounded exclusively by French cultivation. But though the elector acknowledged the meritorious services of Cramer in the education of the prince, yet, on the fall of Danckelmann, he was unable to maintain him in his situation. He was dismissed on the pretext of weak eyes, with a present of two thousand dollars, and the grant of a pension of eight hundred dollars, equal to his salary as sub-governor; but this was reduced afterwards to three hundred, and not even that was punctually paid, so that he died at Amsterdam in necessitous circumstances in 1715.

Cramer was succeeded by Rebeur, a Frenchman, who had fled on account of his religion to Switzerland. The character given of him by Pöllnitz is not very commendatory. "Rebeur," says he, "was a pedant and extremely self-conceited. He affected to be a *bel esprit*, and took it into his head to write bad verses. In the performance of his duty he was

very negligent, and on the other hand tormented the prince with lessons, which were more likely to produce a disgust than a taste for the sciences. The electress soon perceived that the count had erred in his choice, and would fain have dismissed Rebeur, but count Dohna found means to retain him in his situation."

Several folio and quarto books, containing exercises of Frederick William's at this period, have been preserved. The folio No. I. contains in the prince's hand-writing a continuous series of passages from the Old Testament, from the first book of Moses to the prophet Malachi. The pages are divided into five columns. In the first are the separate words of each verse, in the second the German translation, in the third a French, in the fourth a Latin, and in the fifth the text of Luther's Bible. From the extent of these exercises, it would appear that the greater part of the instruction imparted to the prince was limited to this object. A second folio volume contains the history of England, likewise in the prince's hand; it is confined to a dry detail of events, without any reference to the constitution or the spirit of the nation. The rudiments of geometry are comprised in a quarto book. Other evidences of his studies have not reached us. As the prince was committed from infancy to the care of a French woman, and his mother spoke nothing but French with him, he soon attained the requisite fluency in that language for

ordinary conversation. It was then customary for all persons of quality about a prince to speak nothing but French; German he heard only from the lips of the inferior servants, or in the country from those of peasants and gamekeepers. No educated person conversed with him in German; so that a prince of that time spoke and wrote only the German of the common people.

A journey to the Netherlands, whither the electoral prince accompanied his mother and his grandmother in his twelfth year, had well nigh been productive of important consequences for his whole life. The electress left him, while she went to take the baths of Spa and Aix, with his uncle William III., at the Hague. Frederick William found him surrounded by a multitude of sons of princes and other persons of high rank, who, whenever the king came thither to perform the functions of stadtholder, collected merely out of respect for the arbiter of Europe in such number as severely to mortify the pride of Louis XIV. As these persons perceived that the fondness of king William for the young prince of Brandenburg daily increased the more the latter attached himself to his majesty, they began to load him with caresses. The king made no secret to his retinue from England, Scotland, and Holland, of his intention to direct the Protestant act of succession to the throne of Great Britain in favour of this prince, and to take him along with him to London, to make the nation

acquainted with him, and, in case his plan succeeded, to declare him his heir in his will, that he might secure for him the stadtholdership of Holland also. The prince, partly from observation, partly from expressions which he heard drop, had some notion of the king's design, and strove to ingratiate himself with William and his confidants. The king, being obliged to set out in haste for London, not only took the prince with him to Helvoetsluys, but, when the captain of the yacht which was to convey him to England came to fetch his majesty on board, he led the boy by the hand from the dinner-table to the boat. To his no small dismay, count Dohna all at once missed his charge; he immediately hired a boat belonging to the place, followed the yacht, got on board, and in his consternation thus addressed the king: "Would your majesty wish me to lose my head, that you take from me the prince for whom I am answerable with my life, and whom I must not suffer to go out of my sight without orders?" The king, who was angry that the prince's governor had not begged permission to accompany him, drily replied: "If you, sir, can provide for him better than I can, take him." The count, without hesitation, led away the prince from between the king's knees to his hired vessel, and then took him back to the electress.

The electoral prince, as I have already related, accompanied his father to the coronation at Königsberg, and was the first knight who was invested with

the order of the Black Eagle; but it does not appear that he took any particular pleasure in the expensive festivities held on that occasion.

On the contrary, Frederick William manifested from his early youth a decided disposition to economy, so that the queen, accustomed to splendid liberality, began to be apprehensive of a tendency to avarice. An account book which the prince kept with his own hand from 1698 to 1702 with the utmost regularity, and superscribed "Account of my Ducats," shows the way in which he expended the presents made to him on his birthday, at Christmas, and after satisfactory examinations. The smallest sum laid out is set down, but nothing appears to justify the apprehension of the queen, since the "ducats" were very often spent for the relief of the poor and in presents; but they were more especially applied to defray the expense of a company of cadets, which the king had raised for him, in order to accustom him to military exercises, and to excite in him a liking for the profession. Besides these ducats, the prince was, so early as 1699, in the receipt of 9270 dollars; in 1706 the royal chamber placed upwards of 38,000 to his account, and in 1712, at his own desire, his establishment was reduced and the salaries diminished. While the king alone had sixteen chamberlains doing duty, and thirty-two pages, the prince royal had but one chamberlain and two pages. The prince gave another proof of his frugality, in desiring that, when invited to

dinner, only one dish should be set before him. The English ambassador, lord Raby, sought to evade this strict injunction by having only one dish brought to table at once, but causing that to be changed twenty times; contriving to draw off the attention of the prince during dinner, by the performances of a man who played all sorts of tricks for the amusement of the company.

The violent temper of the prince royal and traits indicating a bad heart gave the queen more uneasiness than his early frugality. On the other hand, we are told that his mother was too indulgent, or, at least, not severe enough, when he misbehaved himself. "For the memory of his mother," says Morgenstern, "Frederick William had great reverence, but he could not help admitting that she had done everything to spoil him. Whenever he spoke of her, he set out with this exordium: 'My mother was certainly an excellent woman, but not a good Christian.' He related that his mother had once found him tugging with both hands at the hair of the young duke Frederick William of Courland, whom he had thrown upon the floor, and that, instead of chastising him, she had merely exclaimed sorrowfully, 'My dear child, what are you doing?' Another time he pushed Brand, his sub-governor, down a stone staircase; his shoulder was dislocated by the fall: no further notice was taken of the circumstance, than that the prince was told before the whole court he ought not to have done so."

As the queen could not conquer the obstinacy of the prince by persuasion or severity, she resorted to the dangerous expedient of encouraging an inclination to the fair sex. "Tell count Dohna," she wrote to one of her ladies, "not to oppose the gallantries of the prince royal; love polishes the mind, and softens the manners. But let him direct his taste, and not suffer him to fix on any low object." Mauvillon tells us that at this time the prince was shy and awkward in the company of females. "Nothing," says he, "equalled the modesty and bashfulness of this young prince. At an age when so many have the greatest difficulty to restrain themselves, he blushed when a lady kissed his hand out of respect!" His first serious attachment was to Caroline Wilhelmine Charlotte, princess of Anspach, who, however, being five years older than he was, treated him like a boy, and decided in favour of George Augustus, electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George II. of England, which was probably one cause of the antipathy that he felt all his life for a rival equally dangerous in love and politics.

The prince was allowed at an early age to indulge at pleasure in the exercise of the chase, and for this purpose the king gave him the hunting seat of Wusterhausen, about fourteen English miles from Berlin, for which Frederick William contracted such a fondness, that in later years it was his favourite residence. To afford him opportunity to

apply the military knowledge which he had acquired as captain of the company of cadets on a larger scale, the king gave him a regiment of infantry, and he attended with the utmost punctuality to the administration, clothing, arming, and exercise of this regiment. The staff company was stationed at Wusterhausen, to serve for a guard to the prince. Here commenced his well-known predilection for tall soldiers: the shorter men were displaced, and large sums given for recruits for the first rank; but, as his father disapproved this whim, the tall grenadiers were obliged to hide themselves in barns and stables whenever the king came to Wusterhausen.

As the prince acquired more and more of the blunt soldierly manner of Dohna, which was displeasing to the queen, the count was removed from his situation as governor, and count Fink von Finkenstein appointed his successor. This gentleman was a soldier too: he had entered the Dutch service as a cadet, and resided for a long time as a prisoner of war in France, where he acquired the French polish, which strongly recommended him to the queen when he afterwards entered the Prussian service.

In compliance with the queen's solicitations, the king resolved to permit the prince royal to go, in 1704, to the Netherlands, whence he was to proceed to England. Much as she had wished him to make this journey, it was with a heavy heart that the queen

parted from her beloved son. She seemed to have a presentiment that she should not see him again. In a letter dated January 10th, 1705, probably the last she wrote to him, she expressed a hope of coming with the king to Holland, and having the pleasure to embrace him, adding, "but I have some doubt of it, as many things may happen between this and then." As for the prince, the ship was already waiting to carry him and the duke of Marlborough to England, when he received the melancholy tidings of the death of the queen at Hanover, whither she had gone to visit her family. He returned immediately to Berlin, where he found his father engaged in the arrangements for a magnificent funeral. But, though the remains of the queen arrived in Berlin on the 22nd of March, it was found necessary to defer the solemn obsequies for three months, as the preparations could not be completed in a shorter time. The total expense of the ceremony amounted to 200,000 dollars.

Thiébault tells us in his Reminiscences that the queen met the approach of death with extraordinary firmness: it was impossible to forbear admiring the serenity with which she spoke on the subject. Some one having observed, that if the king were to have the misfortune to lose her, he would be most miserable, she replied, "Oh! as for him, I am quite easy: his mind will be so occupied with the magnificent funeral he will give me, that he will not feel

my loss; and, provided there is nothing amiss at that ceremony, he will care nothing about me." The event, adds the writer just mentioned, justified the prediction.

This mournful solemnity was soon followed by one of a more joyful kind. The king had resolved to marry his son, and destined for him Sophie Dorothea, daughter of the elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England. The portraits of this princess, as well as the descriptions of contemporary writers, leave no doubt of her beauty and amiableness. "She was tall and elegant in figure; her features were regular, and her blue eyes, full of animation, were her brightest ornament. Her complexion was the most delicate white, which was further set off by her brown hair. All these charms of person were heightened by the excellent qualities of her mind, and the virtues of her heart." She was nineteen years old, and the prince a year younger. Having obtained the consent of her parents, the king resolved to accompany the prince to Hanover for the ceremony of the betrothal.

Meanwhile the university of Frankfurt on the Oder held an extraordinary jubilee on account of its two-hundredth anniversary, and elected the prince royal *rector magnificentissimus*. The king and the whole court repaired thither, and attended the solemnities and festivities of the university, which lasted five days. The university of Oxford,

to express the interest which it took in the proceedings at Frankfurt, conferred on the prince royal the degree of doctor of civil law

In the June following the king and his son went to Hanover, where the latter was affianced to the princess, and the marriage contract signed; after which Frederick I. returned to Berlin, and the prince royal proceeded to join the army of the allies in the Netherlands. The duke of Marlborough, who had recently gained the splendid victory of Ramilies, received the prince with the most flattering attention in the camp before Brussels, the siege of which had just commenced. The prince took part in this operation, as well as in the siege and reduction of Menin; and by his intrepidity in all the actions that ensued, he gained the respect of the general and the whole army. At the conclusion of the campaign, he returned to Berlin by way of Hanover; and count Fink von Finkenstein was sent thither to act as proxy at the marriage ceremony, which took place on the 14th of November.

At the court of Hanover, as well as at the Prussian, a fondness for magnificence and for French manners predominated. The elector had caused

Frederick William III., during his visit to England in 1814, had the same degree conferred upon him at Oxford. The university, finding a Frederick William I. mentioned in their annals as doctor, erroneously called Frederick William III., in the diploma given to him, "Fr. Guilhelmum Secundum."

the whole of the bridal paraphernalia to be bespoken in Paris, where the duchess of Orleans superintended the selection and arrangement. Louis XIV., when the jewels were submitted to his inspection, expressed his approbation of them, and added a wish that there might be many more princesses in Germany on whose outfit so large a sum should be expended. The princess was twelve days in reaching Berlin. Her train was composed of forty chariots and coaches, twelve wagons belonging to the elector, and sixty-five to peasants: and at each relay 520 horses were required to forward these vehicles. She arrived in Berlin on the 27th of November, and the marriage was solemnized on the following day. The festivities on the occasion lasted three weeks; being held sometimes in Berlin, at others at Brandenburg, Charlottenburg, or some other royal palace. The provinces of the kingdom were obliged to furnish large supplies for the kitchen and cellar. Thus, the New Mark alone had to contribute 600 calves, 7600 fowls, 1102 turkeys, 650 geese, 1000 ducks, 1000 pair of pigeons, 360 score of eggs. Prussia supplied 100 fat oxen, and so each province in proportion, without receiving any compensation whatever.

Among the numerous foreigners who were attracted to Berlin by these festivities, a Neapolitan count, who called himself Don Domenico Caetano conte de Ruggiero, was particularly distinguished for the display which he made. He drove about in

a splendid carriage and four, kept a maître d'hotel, two pages, two valets, and a number of other servants, all dressed in scarlet, turned up with yellow velvet, and laced with gold. Inquiries were made at court concerning the family, property, and estates of this wealthy count; and it excited no small astonishment to learn that the source of his riches was nothing but a furnace, with which, shut up at night in the closest privacy, he made gold. The treasury had long been exhausted; the necessities of the court became daily more pressing; retrenchments were not to be thought of; and, as Caetano's operations were said to be carried on in a natural way, without any satanic assistance, the king conceived a desire to make the acquaintance of so extraordinary a personage. Count Caetano was invited to court, where the king distinguished him on several occasions. As he now and then dropped expressions about secret processes, and the art of transmuting metals, he was desired, out of mere curiosity, or perhaps for the information of the newly-instituted Academy, to exhibit some specimens of his art. He professed his readiness to comply with this request. As the prince royal had from the first been adverse to the reception of the count at court, and had drawn upon himself severe reprimands from the king by his distrust of Caetano's honesty, Frederick now proposed to his son to be present at the experiment, and to furnish himself all the materials requisite for it. To this arrangement the gold-

maker assented. The prince royal, who was most solicitous to detect the deception, had a furnace placed in one of the kitchens of the palace; bellows, charcoal, crucibles, were provided under his own inspection, and he obtained from the master of the mint a bar of copper a foot long, upon which there was a stamp, so that it could not be changed. The day and hour were fixed; everything was ready; the king, the prince, the margraves, the high chamberlain, the treasurer, the master of the mint, and some of the gentlemen of the court assembled. The count arrived. With an air of mystery, he took from his pocket a gold box containing his arcanum, put a little of it into the crucible, and, as he knew the prince's distrust of his art, he addressed himself exclusively to him, requesting him to stir the fire, to blow the bellows, and lastly to put the bar of copper, after he had smeared half of it with clay, into the crucible. He took it out glowing, cooled it in a bucket of water that stood by, and, to the astonishment of all, the bar was apparently metamorphosed into the brightest gold. The master of the mint, after minutely examining the mass, declared it to be the purest ducat-gold. Willing as the king was to grant the welcome artist a considerable advance, the incredulity of the prince royal was not yet overcome, and the only present that he would consent to make the count, consisted in a dozen bottles of French wine, and twelve days' subsistence at the royal expense. The wily Italian was not

satisfied, and secretly quitted Berlin. The king, who, after the experiment, had conceived the greatest confidence in his skill, was not a little mortified. Marschall von Biberstein, one of his chamberlains, who himself would fain have learned a new way to pay old debts, offered to bring back the gold-maker immediately. The eloquence of this clever courtier actually induced Caetano to return to Berlin, where the king loaded him with marks of favour, made him a present of his portrait set with brilliants, and gave him a commission as general of artillery. Frederick felt intense curiosity to see some further proofs of his skill. Caetano was willing to gratify him, but required increased means in order to obtain proportionate results. The king not only granted what he asked for; but, that he might be free from the annoyance either of curiosity or incredulity, he gave him permission to establish himself at Coswig, where he was furnished with every accommodation that he could desire. The term fixed for him expired; the promised gold was not forthcoming, and he sought to avoid further importunity by decamping clandestinely to Stettin. Again the king succeeded in prevailing upon him to return to Berlin; again the gold-maker contrived to dupe him for a time by empty illusions; and, when urged to produce tangible proofs of his skill, he fled to Hamburg. There, as the burgomaster and senate took the part of the fugitive, the king had great difficulty to get him secured. He was then conveyed to Cüstrin,

and treated as a state prisoner. The king urged and threatened. Caetano again fell to work, and he contrived to gain his majesty's good opinion to such a degree, that he was permitted to go to Berlin, where he assigned to him the Princes' House for the operations which he promised to undertake on a large scale, made him considerable advances, and directed that his wants should be supplied from the royal kitchen. At the same time he was closely watched; and it was only now and then that he was allowed to take an airing outside the city. Of this liberty he availed himself, after a short stay in Berlin, to abscond with the gold into which he had changed the king's silver. He fled to Frankfurt on the Mayn, where he was delivered up on the requisition of the Prussian resident, and conducted under a good escort to Cüstrin. Here he was brought to trial as a swindler, condemned to be hanged, and executed on the 23rd of August, 1709, in a coat decorated with tinsel. This melancholy story furnishes a striking illustration of the practical good sense of Frederick William, and shows that the age of superstition was beginning to give way to that of reason and better knowledge.

About a year after the prince's marriage, his consort presented him with a son, to the great joy of the royal house. The king conferred upon the infant, on the day of his birth, the order of the Black Eagle and the title of prince of Orange, on occasion of the acquisition of Neufchâtel and Va-

lengin, allotted to him as his portion of the Orange inheritance. The baptism took place in the cathedral on the 4th of December. The sponsors were king Frederick I., queen Anne of England, the reigning electress and the dowager electress of Hanover, their high mightinesses the states general, and the Protestant Swiss cantons. The prince was held at the font by his royal grandfather. The states general sent to the young prince in a gold box an assignment of a yearly income of 4000 florins, and to his mother, two massive gold bowls and 1500 florins. I find no mention made of the presents of the other sponsors. The joy of the Prussian court on this occasion, was soon changed into mourning by the death of the infant on the 13th of May, 1708; an event attributed by a contemporary to the effect of the violent noise of the guns at his birth, and of the baptismal ceremonies, which produced epileptic attacks.

About the same time the king was taken ill, and being advised by his physicians to pass the summer at Carlsbad, he resigned the affairs of government during his absence to the prince royal. The insight which he thus gained into abuses of various kinds was rather inconvenient to many, and, with a view to counteract his influence, the persons immediately about the king advised the latter to marry again, for fear the royal house might become extinct, as the prince royal had yet no issue. In compliance with this advice, the king selected for his third con-

sort, the princess Sophie Louise of Mecklenburg Grabow. The young queen, unaccustomed at her brother's court to the forms of strict etiquette, found herself extremely uncomfortable in Berlin, and she incurred the king's displeasure by interfering as a zealous Lutheran in matters of religion. Frederick, who was at this time intent on uniting the Lutheran and Reformed churches into an Evangelical church, decidedly repelled the attempts of the queen to convert him to her faith, and the unfortunate princess fell into the hands of the pietists, who worked up her already excited imagination to insanity.

With these domestic afflictions with which the royal family was visited were associated the distresses of the country, which was depopulated by a contagious disease. To prevent its communication, the most rigid measures were ordered; so that for several months the gates of Berlin were kept shut, and general fasts were appointed. The prince royal had gone in April to the army in the Netherlands.

A welcome variation of the dull uniformity which, owing to all these causes, reigned at the Prussian court, was produced by the arrival of the kings of Denmark and Poland, on the 2nd of July, 1709, at Potsdam, where they concluded a treaty with Frederick for their joint security against Charles XII., in case he should attempt to invade their frontiers. Just at this time the princess royal was delivered of a daughter, to whom the sovereigns were invited to stand sponsors, and this

furnished a theme for poets and astrologers about the court to vie with one another in Latin and German adulations. Thus, one of them compared the infant princess with the child Jesus, to whom the three eastern kings came to bring their tribute. An extraordinary scene, to which the baptismal ceremony furnished occasion, has been related in the preceding chapter.

Meanwhile, the prince royal had joined the army of the allies in the Netherlands. During the siege of Tournay, he was invariably with the troops in the camp of Orchies, and living on the most intimate terms with the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, and other distinguished generals. Almost every day he dined with either the duke or prince Eugene, or they with him. It was here that, when once a discussion arose as to whether the king of Prussia could bring fifteen thousand men into the field, the prince royal declared, with his usual vehemence, they should learn that he could keep more than thirty thousand. The most important event of this campaign was the battle of Malplaquet, in which the French, under marshal Villars, were totally routed. The prince royal, who, during the engagement, was constantly with the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, displayed such coolness and intrepidity, that those veteran commanders bestowed on him the warmest praise. Two orderlies fell close by his side, and a groom of prince Eugene's, who was riding just behind him, was killed by a ball.

In no battle of modern times had such large armies been engaged as at Malplaquet, where each party numbered upwards of one hundred thousand men. The bravery of the Prussian troops was universally acknowledged: they fought with such extraordinary intrepidity, that to them was mainly ascribed the success of the day. The public prints spread the fame of the Prussian arms throughout all Europe, and the youthful prince royal was mentioned with deserved commendation: "During the battle, his royal highness was constantly with the two veteran heroes, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, sharing with them all the danger, but likewise all the honour. For the Prussians, led by the brave and experienced general Fink von Finkenstein, penetrated during the battle into the enemy's entrenchments, which were deemed impregnable, put his cavalry to flight, took his infantry in the rear, and forced it to surrender; which ably-planned and courageously-executed operation essentially contributed, in the opinion of prince Eugene, to the successful issue of the conflict. Frederick William was ever afterwards accustomed to keep the 11th of September as a remarkable day.

The loss of major-general Tettau, who fell in this engagement, was particularly painful to the prince. It is said that this officer had a presentiment of his fate, and that on the preceding day he took leave of the prince royal, saying that the morrow would be the last day of his life, but that

he would nevertheless do his duty like an honest man, without fear of death. The prince tried to laugh him out of so foolish an imagination; but so much the more was he struck on the following day, when he was informed of Tettau's death. Colonel Derschau, who, with great personal risk, brought him, when mortally wounded, out of the mêlée, recommended himself so strongly to the prince by this act, that thenceforward he placed the greatest confidence in him.

After the surrender of Tournay, the siege of Mons was undertaken. The works proceeded very slowly, on account of the wet weather; the prince, therefore, took leave of the duke of Marlborough, who, as an acknowledgment of the valour and perseverance displayed by himself and his Prussians, gave him two field-pieces, three standards, and two pair of colours, for the king.

During this campaign, the table of the prince royal was considered as the most splendid, and that of the duke of Marlborough as the most parsimonious. "In this campaign of 1709," says Fassmann, "his royal highness dined at different times with the duke of Marlborough; but he, like the others, could never get more than about a bottle of wine to drink. Now, it is certainly praiseworthy, that there should not be immoderate drinking at the table of a commanding-general in the field; but, methinks, those distinguished persons who dine at it ought to have liberty to ask for as much wine as

they choose to drink. This is undoubtedly owing to the too rigid economy which the duke of Marlborough observes, and because his table is supplied by a sutler."

In the following year, the princess royal again presented her husband with a son; but the hopes of the family were again destined to be disappointed. The infant lived but eleven months. His death is thus accounted for by Küster: "The grand master of the ceremonies of king Frederick I., who was so fond of splendour, thought it necessary that a small massive crown, glistening with diamonds, but softly wadded inside, should be so fastened to the baptismal pillow, that the upper part of the infant prince's head should rest in it. The ladies exhausted their skill in loading him with costly royal attire. The heavy star of the order of the Eagle, richly set with precious stones, was attached to his bosom. Laden with this heavy glittering burden, the infant had to travel the long distance to the baptismal ceremony and back again. When brought to his apartment and undressed, he was not only much exhausted, but a blue spot was found on the upper part of his head, and this was ascribed to some accidental jolt in the crown. The death of the prince at the age of eleven months was universally regarded as the consequence of this farce with the royal crown; and it was resolved, that such a massive crown should never in future be attached to the baptismal pillow of a royal infant."

The affair of the Orange inheritance was not yet finally settled. The states general refused to admit the claims preferred by the Prussian monarch, who took a journey, in the summer of 1711, to the Hague, and, to accelerate the business, invited the stadtholder, who was with the army, to a conference at Honswerdyk.* The prince, seated in his carriage, with his aide-de-camp, was crossing the Moordyk, in a ferry-boat, for the purpose, when a gust of wind blew the vehicle overboard, and both perished. The king, hereupon, concluded an agreement with the states general, by which certain possessions in Holland, producing an income of twenty-six thousand guilders, and a yearly sum of twenty-four thousand more from the other estates, were secured to him. The prince royal, who accompanied his father, took the more lively an interest in these negotiations, as he even then felt a great predilection for those possessions in the Netherlands, where he was so struck with the good-humoured bluntness of the people, the universal prosperity and cleanliness, and even the free constitution of the country, that the effect of his residence in Holland was apparent on many occasions in after-life.

About the end of 1711, the good understanding between the king and the prince royal seems to have been disturbed by evil-disposed persons. Count Christopher Dohna undertook the difficult task of effecting a reconciliation, and gives the following account of the way in which he accomplished his

object. "Malicious persons, whom I could name if I chose, had put a very bad construction on certain steps taken by the prince royal, especially in regard to the raising of his tall grenadiers. The king, who was naturally kind-hearted, but whom it was too easy to prejudice against any one, manifested his displeasure with his son, at which that prince, who fondly loved his father, was so distressed that he scarcely ate or drank, and fell away perceptibly. All persuasions not to take the matter so deeply to heart were of no avail; nothing could cheer his spirits." At the risk of drawing upon himself the enmity of the whole cabal which had produced this misunderstanding, count Dohna took an opportunity, when the king was alone, to throw himself at his feet, and implore him no longer to withdraw his favour from the prince, as it would infallibly occasion his death. With tears he conjured his majesty not to believe the enemies of the prince, who were striving, by their infernal machinations, to rob him of his only heir to the throne. The king took this frankness most graciously. He desired the count to rise. "Would to God," said he, "that all who approach me spoke to me so sincerely! but it is the lot of princes to see truth only through the thick mists of dissimulation and cabal." He sent for the prince the same day, and was reconciled to him. "The prince royal," continues the count, "was so gracious as to express his warmest acknowledgments for this service; and in after years he often called it to

mind; and once, after he became king, said before a numerous retinue in Prussian Holland, 'This is the man who reconciled me with my father, and by his good offices destroyed the effect of the malicious reports raised against me. I may say that it was he who, in some measure, saved my life, since, but for that reconciliation, I must have fallen into a mortal melancholy.'"

It was very shortly after this reconciliation that the king was rejoiced by the birth of a grandson. Frederick, surnamed by his contemporaries the Great, came into the world on the 24th of January, 1712, in the palace at Berlin. His appearance was hailed with extraordinary delight, for on him rested the hopes of the royal family. It is said that the king received the tidings just at the moment when he had sat down to dinner, and that he instantly left the table to express his joy in person to the illustrious mother, and to kiss the future heir to his throne. The happy event was immediately proclaimed to the inhabitants of the capital, by the ringing of bells, and the thunder of the cannon on the ramparts. Numerous promotions and distinctions conferred on faithful servants, and a treat given to the inmates of the poor-houses of the city, heightened the festivity of the day. It was considered as a favourable omen, that the infant prince was born in the coronation month; and the king determined that the ceremony of baptism should be performed in the same month with extraordinary

pomp. Accordingly it took place on the 31st of January in the chapel royal.

The whole way from the apartments of the prince royal to the chapel was lined with a double file of Swiss and life guards. Beneath a splendid canopy the margravine Albert, the king's sister-in-law, carried the infant, supported by her consort, a step-brother of his majesty's, and the margrave Louis, a younger brother. The young prince had a small crown upon his head, and was dressed in silver stuff, garnished with diamonds, the train being borne by six countesses. In the chapel, brilliantly lighted up, the king himself, with the queen, his son, and prince Leopold of Anhalt Dessau, were waiting under a canopy embroidered with gold, before a table, on which stood a gold basin. The absent sponsors, the emperor Charles VI., the dowager empress, the czar Peter, the states general of Holland, the canton of Berne, the electoral prince of Hanover, and the duchess dowager of Mecklenburg, were represented by the king, the queen, the prince royal, and the prince of Anhalt. The ceremony was performed by bishop Ursinus von Bär. All the bells of the city were rung, and the cannon on the ramparts fired three rounds, to the sound of drums and trumpets. The prince was named Frederick; according to some writers, Charles Frederick. In the evening there was a magnificent entertainment at court, and great rejoicings took place in the city.

Frederick was born prince of Prussia and of

Orange, but, after the peace of Utrecht, when the king ceded to France his hereditary rights to the principality of Orange, he ceased to have this designation, though the crown of Prussia continued to bear the title and arms of Orange.

A few months after the birth of the prince, an American aloe, which had been forty-four years in the king's garden at Köpenick, near Berlin, blossomed for the first time, and in the most luxuriant manner. A stem, thirty-one feet high, threw out 7277 blossoms. Thousands flocked from far and near to behold this remarkable production of nature. Poems and engravings were published illustrative of the magnificence of the gigantic plant. It was regarded as an emblem of that splendour which the royal house of Prussia was attaining; but at the same time it was observed, that while the blossom appeared in its full beauty the plant itself was dying away, and this was thought to denote that the king would not long survive. Such an interpretation was by no means bold, for the king, naturally of a weakly constitution, had been long ailing.

The czar Peter, who had adopted the manners of European high life to such a degree that a yearly visit to Carlsbad had become indispensable to him, arrived in Berlin on the 11th of October, 1712, on his way thither. He alighted, as privately as possible, at the hotel of his ambassador, where the prince royal immediately called upon him. The personal appearance, as well as the character of

Peter, had deeply interested the prince, and, notwithstanding the disparity of age, they had contracted a warm friendship for one another. The simplicity of the czar's way of life, his dislike of restraint and etiquette, his predilection for the military profession, and his fondness for the practical, even to the learning of handicraft businesses—these were all points in which the taste of the prince coincided, and in which he took Peter the Great for a model. While the king was setting all his officers in motion, and the state carriages were despatched to fetch the illustrious guest, the czar walked with the prince to the palace, and appeared at the royal table in his green surtout. He stayed only three days in Berlin, but visited that capital again at the end of November on his return from Carlsbad. The prince was his constant companion, and took pleasure in showing him everything curious, and especially whatever was connected with the improvement of arts and manufactures. On the 1st of December the czar left Berlin, promising the prince royal that he would soon pay him another visit. In the royal museum at Berlin there is a massive oak turning-lathe, with complete apparatus, presented, probably soon after this visit, by Peter to Frederick William. The same institution possesses also the model of a windmill, reputed to be the work of the czar's own hand, executed during his residence at Saardam.

As the king had been very ailing and frequently confined to his bed this whole year, the prince royal

undertook with great assiduity the conduct of the public business. The last time that his majesty appeared in public was on the first birth-day of his grandson, after which his illness assumed so serious a character that the result could not be doubtful. He awaited the approach of death with firmness. Though extremely weak, he desired, on the 13th of February, 1713, his family and the high officers of state to be summoned to his bedside; and, surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of earthly power and dignity, he confessed that "this world is a drama which soon comes to a close, and we should be badly off indeed if there were nothing beyond it." He bestowed his paternal blessing on the prince royal, kneeling with his wife and daughter by his bed, in these words: "My son, I give you a father's blessing. God be with you, strengthen you, and preserve you!" The little princess began to cry. "O my dear grandpapa," said she, "how ill you are! I will pray heartily that you may get better." His majesty then desired the privy-councillors in attendance to be admitted, thanked them for the fidelity they had shown to him, and, observing their concern, said, pointing to the prince royal, "You will find in him another father, who will provide for you." He grew worse daily, till the 24th of February, when he once more laid his hand on his son's head, gave him his last blessing, and expired on the following day, between twelve and one at noon.

The character of this weak and vain monarch is

drawn by his grandson, with a severity originating probably in the disappointment which he felt at not finding, in the successor of so wise a prince as the Great Elector, any of those hopes fulfilled which his ancestor had conceived of the future sovereigns of Brandenburg.

"He was short and deformed," says Frederick, "had a haughty manner, but an ordinary expression of countenance. His soul was like a mirror, which reflects everything that comes before it, susceptible to all impressions that presented themselves, so that whatever had any influence upon him could both rouse his passion and appease him. He was violent from temper, mild from carelessness. He confounded empty vanities with real greatness; was fonder of dazzling splendour than of the durable and useful; and obtained the royal title, that he might justify his excessive expenditure with all sorts of specious pretexts.

"He was ostentatious and generous; but how dearly did he not pay for the gratification of his passions! He sold the blood of his people to England and Holland, as the Tartars sell their cattle to the Podolian butchers,—to be slaughtered. When he went to Holland to take possession of his share of the inheritance of king William, he was on the point of withdrawing his troops from that country: a large brilliant belonging to that inheritance was presented to him, and 15,000 men lost their lives on account of it in the service of the allies.

"The court of Frederick I. was one of the most brilliant in Europe; his embassies were not less splendid than the Portuguese. He oppressed the poor to make the rich still fatter: Large pensions were assigned to his favourites, while his subjects languished in wretchedness. His buildings cost large sums; his entertainments were most sumptuous. His stables and his establishment displayed Asiatic luxury, rather than European dignity. His liberality appeared to be more the effect of chance than of a rational choice. His attendants made their fortune when they had borne the first explosions of his anger. To a huntsman, who had enabled him to kill a remarkably fine stag, he gave a freehold property worth four thousand dollars. He wanted to pledge the domains of the crown in Halberstadt, to buy the celebrated Pitt diamond, purchased by Louis XV. during the regency; and he sold to the allies 20,000 men, to have it said that he kept 30,000.

"His court was like a large river, which absorbs the waters of all the minor streams. His favourites were crammed with his bounties, and his profusion squandered a large sum every day, while Prussia was a prey to famine and pestilence."

Such is the judgment passed by Frederick the Great on his grandfather, who certainly had the example of almost all thrones and all princes in his favour.

CHAPTER IV.

Funeral of Frederick I.—Reduction of the Royal Establishment.—Frederick William I.—His Person.—His Dress.—His dislike to French Fashions.—His Conjugal Fidelity.—His Habits and Occupations.—Mode of despatching Cabinet Business.—The King's Stables.—Petitions.—Dinner.—Supper.—Wines.—The King's fondness for Fruit.—Adventures in his Promenades.—His Paintings.—Smoking Party.—General Flanss.—General Dockum.—Royal Challenge.—Picture of the Smoking Party.—Celebration of the Battle of Malplaquet, and of St. Hubert's Day.—Marriage of the Princess of Schwedt.

FREDERICK WILLIAM directed that his father's funeral should be solemnized with all possible pomp and the strictest etiquette, that the deceased monarch might, in death, be surrounded with that splendour to which in life he had been so much attached. All the higher officers of the royal household were ordered to wear mourning of black cloth, and cambric cravats with black borders. The ministers were required to hang two rooms in their mansions with black cloth; and they and the officers of state were to give their servants a black livery, and to go abroad only in carriages covered with black, and having no coats of arms. The royal corpse was first laid upon a state bed, which was covered with red velvet, sprinkled with golden crowns and eagles, lined with cloth of silver, and set with genuine pearls, whence it was called only the pearl-bed. The body was dressed in the purple

velvet coronation coat with diamond buttons, over which was spread the royal purple robe; the royal crown, glistening with precious stones, being placed at the head, the sceptre and globe on either side, and the chain of the order of the Black Eagle hanging over the shoulders. The room, lined with purple velvet, was lighted by many hundred tapers. Here, for two hours, morning and afternoon, the whole court was assembled, and the ministers of state, lieutenant-generals, and chamberlains, attended in turn by the corpse, which lay in state till the 4th of March. On that day the dress was changed for another of cloth of gold, and the body put into a tin coffin, and removed to the chapel royal, hung with black, and decorated for the occasion. Here it lay till the funeral, which took place on the 2nd of May, with corresponding pomp and great military parade.

The first act of the young king on his accession proclaimed the spirit of economy in which he meant to govern. After devoting a short time in his cabinet to his sorrow, he sent for the grand marshal of the court, von Printzen, with an order to bring him the list of the royal establishment. The king threw a hasty glance over the long list, called for pen and ink, and crossed through the whole of it. He then returned it to the grand marshal, saying, that he thereby dismissed his father's whole establishment, but that no person must leave the court till after the funeral. Von Printzen, says Pöllnitz, who was

an eye-witness of the scene, was so astounded by this sudden and sweeping reform, that on quitting the cabinet he was unable to utter a word. Lieutenant-general Tettau, who was an original in everything, perceiving from the look of the grand marshal that something extraordinary must have occurred between him and the king, took the list out of his hand, and, finding it struck through, "Gentlemen," said he, "our good master is dead, and the new king sends you all to the devil." This joke appeared at first most unseasonable, but it was too soon found that he had only told the truth; and, never was the death of any sovereign attended with sorrow more general and more sincere. On the expiration of the year of mourning, the superfluous host of chamberlains, grooms of the bedchamber, and pages, were dismissed, partly with small pensions, partly without. A few only of the higher officers of the household were retained. Among these was the grand marshal, von Printzen. "This grand marshal," says Morgenstern, "had, in the time of Frederick I., a whole pageful of titles and offices, which Frederick William allowed him to retain, with salaries amounting to twelve thousand dollars, whereas they had before produced him forty thousand; but, after his death, his place was left vacant." Von Printzen invited the king to dinner, and his majesty, as he frequently related himself, was not without apprehension that some unpleasant discussion might arise. As, however,

everything passed off agreeably, the king was in high spirits, and began to explain to his host why he had been obliged to reduce the salaries of his officers, and his among the rest: but von Printzen begged his majesty not to trouble himself, as nobody, perhaps, had more reason to be satisfied than he; for, whereas formerly he derived no ready money from either his places or his estates, but had always active and passive debts, now that he lived upon ready money, took no credit, and looked closely after his household affairs himself, he was never in pecuniary embarrassment, and had nearly paid off his debts.

The twenty-six trumpeters and kettle-drummers, who every day at noon filled the palace with their noise, and summoned the idle crowd to the luxurious table, appeared for the last time in the funeral procession, and were then distributed among the regiments. The palace guard of the hundred *tame* Swiss, as they were called, who strutted about in velvet and silk, richly embroidered with gold, was also dismissed, and gradually placed, like the garde du corps, among the regiments. In like manner, the king considered as superfluities the large quantities of pearls, precious stones, and gold and silver plate, amassed by his predecessor. These were accordingly sold, and the sums which they produced were applied to the raising of new regiments, and the payment of the late king's debts. Madame Liebmann, who had been allowed free access, unan-

nounced, to the deceased monarch, and by whom he was chiefly supplied with those valuables, was called to a strict account; part of her unjustly acquired property was taken from her, and she was ordered to leave Berlin. A great number of unnecessary expenses ceased; the exhausted coffers began to be replenished, so that, only two months after the king's accession, he could draw upon the finance directory for half a million of dollars for the maintenance of two grenadier battalions. It may further be observed that, before the end of the same year, 1713, the king was enabled to pay two hundred thousand dollars to the czar, and as much to the king of Poland, towards the discharge of the sum agreed to be given by Prussia on the acquisition of Pomerania.

Frederick William had entered his twenty-fifth year when he ascended the throne. Though rather below the middle stature, being only five feet five inches high, there was something in his whole person that denoted the sovereign. His face, a fine oval, with high forehead, was full and ruddy; and its severe expression was tempered by the open, cheerful look of his blue eyes; but under the influence of passion their aspect was terrible. His complexion was delicately fair; and though, when a boy, he rubbed himself with oil, exposed himself to the sun, and used other means to become brown, he could not change the colour of his skin. In ordinary conversation, the tone of his voice was

rather harsh and low, so that he was not easily understood by those who heard him speak for the first time, especially as he was accustomed to mix the low and the high German dialect together. In the later years of his life, when he could not take so much exercise as before, he grew excessively corpulent: his waistcoat measured four ells in width, and his weight, which in 1735 was two hundred and thirty pounds, increased in the next four years to two hundred and seventy. On this point the king made observations himself: for, on his arrival at Wusterhausen for the autumn, he always had his own weight, and that of each of his attendants, ascertained and noted down.

The dress of the king was simple, like all his domestic arrangements. He appeared for the last time in a large flowing wig at the funeral of his father. The king, we are told by Pöllnitz, had the finest hair in the world, of a light brown, but he had it cut off, and for a long time wore a wig with a tail; but, in the latter years of his life, he had close and almost white wigs, in which, though they were ill made, he looked extremely well. Till 1719 he dressed sometimes in plain clothes, at others in uniform; in the following years he was scarcely ever seen but in the uniform of colonel of the regiment of Potsdam grenadiers, blue turned up with red, yellow waistcoat and breeches, white linen gaiters with brass buttons, and square-toed shoes. Everything was made to fit very tight. In bad

weather, and for hunting, he put on boots. His hat was three-cornered, with a narrow gold lace, gilt button without loop, and a band of gold thread with two small gold tassels. When not in uniform, the king wore a brown coat and red waistcoat, with a narrow gold border. He was so saving of a good coat, that, when engaged in his cabinet, he would put on linen sleeves and an apron. He was a decided enemy to gaudy dresses and new fashions; and as, while yet a boy, he had vowed vengeance against French wigs and gold brocade dresses, so they still continued to be objects of his displeasure. He observed with indignation that the large laced hats and bags in which count Rothenburg and his retinue appeared in public, found admirers at court. To prevent imitation, he ordered, at the grand review held at Tempelhoff, near Berlin, in 1719, that the regimental provosts, who, like the executioners and skinners, were reputed infamous, should appear in the new French costume, only with the brims of the hats and the bags enlarged to an extravagant size. In order to throw ridicule upon the embroidered clothes and huge wigs of the privy-councillors and chamberlains, he directed that the court fools should appear in that kind of attire on gala days. Thus, too, the queen and the princesses were required to dress very simply. The latter, while young, were not allowed either silk or cotton dresses, but commonly wore serge of home manufacture. Paint was prohibited. For extra-

ordinary occasions, however, the king had a particular dress, consisting of a uniform of blue velvet, lined with red; as for diamond buttons, no such thing was ever seen. In regard to personal cleanliness, he was most scrupulously exact; and, to avoid dust in his apartments, he removed the silk tapestries, the cushioned chairs, and the carpets; and nothing but deal tables and benches were to be seen there.

The queen, on her part, appeared beside her royal consort, healthy and hearty, the blooming mother of a blooming progeny. At a time when French licentiousness had infected like a pestilence almost every court of the continent, Frederick William preserved his conjugal fidelity inviolate. I shall have occasion to show hereafter, how he conducted himself in regard to this point at the infamously dissolute court of the king of Poland. Another fact, of a similar kind, may be recorded here. During the journey which he took in 1732 to meet the emperor, he indulged in some jokes with a smart lively peasant girl, whom he met with in a village in Silesia. Grumbkow, thinking to gratify his master, offered to make proposals to her; but the king severely reproved him, declaring that he would never be unfaithful to his "Fiekchen*," as he was accustomed to call the queen.

For the king's personal service he kept no more than one chamberlain, two pages, two valets de chambre, a few grooms, two cooks, a steward, and a

* A diminutive formed from the last syllable of Sophie.

butler. In like manner the establishment of the queen and the princesses was limited to a chief gouvernante, and a few maids of honour. To defray the cost of her establishment, the queen had a yearly allowance of eighty thousand dollars, out of which she had not only to pay her own personal expenses, but to provide clothes and linen for the king and the princesses. The king also required her to supply him with powder and shot for partridge-shooting, as a compensation for which he allowed her the feathered game that was not consumed at the royal table to dispose of. He gave her majesty every year a winter dress, and used to make her a valuable present at Christmas; for instance, in 1735, a gold poker, which cost 1600 dollars.

At his table he looked only for the plainest fare, and he was well pleased when this cost him nothing, and when his kitchen was supplied with presents of various kinds. He was far from disliking wine; but, on account of the gout, he relinquished it in the latter years of his life for beer. Immediately after his accession, he reduced the expenses of his personal establishment to what was absolutely indispensable, assigning no more than forty-eight thousand dollars a year for table, cellar, and stables, and for the keep and clothing of his servants. Some idea of his parsimonious habits may be formed from the following circumstances. When his favourite son had the small-pox, the king, in great alarm, despatched messenger after

messenger to Ellert, his physician. When the latter arrived and relieved him from his anxiety about the state of the child, his majesty, as a special token of his royal gratitude, and to compensate the doctor for his attendance, ordered that he should be supplied during his residence at the palace with two bottles of Duckstein beer a day, and a dinner that was not to cost more than six groschen, or nine pence of our money.

Lieutenant-general Schwerin, cousin of the marshal of that name, was considered as the best horseman in the Prussian army. He undertook to cure a superb saddle-horse belonging to the king, which had the mad staggers. Schwerin had the horse taken into Westphalia, where he commanded, and sent him back to the king perfectly cured, in eight or ten months. He gave charge of him to his own nephew, named Schönfeld, who arrived just at the moment when the king was on parade. His majesty was overjoyed to see his horse again in such high condition. Young Schönfeld was obliged to mount him, and try him in every way that the king could devise: when he was quite satisfied with the performances of both horse and rider, he ordered the latter to take the horse to the stables, and then to go to the palace, where he should have breakfast and some beer, at the same time giving him a florin, and bidding him present his thanks to the general.

"The king governed his court," says a contemporary, "as he did his dominions, that is to say,

himself alone, taking a hint on this subject no doubt from the changes in the household of the great elector and Frederick I., which were not always agreeable, and rarely turned out well. The former was frequently so exasperated by his first wife, that he would fling his hat at her feet and beg her to give him her nightcap; and his second would weary him out with reproaches, whenever any measure upon which she had not been consulted, happened to miscarry."

The first thing the king did on rising was to wash his head, breast, and hands, and he then read a prayer in Creutzberg's *Daily Devotion*. In summer his cabinet councillors and secretaries made their appearance at five, in winter at seven. Any papers that might have arrived were opened and read to the king while taking coffee and dressing; and he either signified his pleasure immediately, or gave instructions on the margin in his own hand-writing: so conscientious was he in the performance of this duty that, when the gout prevented him from using his right hand, he wrote his remarks with his left. Thousands of such papers, with marginal remarks by his own hand, are still preserved, and attest not only his extraordinary activity, but also his insight into all the branches of the public administration. The ministers in general had no personal intercourse with the king, but had to send written reports on every matter belonging to their respective departments. There were but two cabinet councillors,

with whom he transacted business; one of them attended to the war department, foreign affairs, justice, and private correspondence; the other to the finance department, and the general affairs of the kingdom. It required a peculiar knack to read the king's illegible scrawl, and to make out the meaning of the brief, abrupt, and frequently very pithy words in which his orders were conveyed. When he had found a person fit for this service, he did not like to change, for he was obliged to drill his secretaries himself before he could make them exactly what he wished. The cabinet councillor, von Marschall, afterwards minister at war, used to relate that he was not a little surprised when the king appointed him cabinet secretary, for he knew not even how to make an envelope for a letter till the king had taught him.

The business in the cabinet generally occupied two or three hours, after which the king gave audience to the ministers and higher officers, and sometimes even to foreign ambassadors, on the Parade, whither he went regularly about ten o'clock. When in Berlin, he usually proceeded from the Parade to the stables; here Frederick I. kept a thousand horses, at least that was the number set down in the charge for fodder, though many a manger was empty and the oats found their way into the pocket of the equerry. Frederick William's stables contained thirty odd saddle horses, and only a few for carriages and draught.

Both on the way to the Parade and on his return from the stables, the king received petitions, and familiarly and condescendingly addressed persons whom he supposed to have anything to present to him. A particular place in the passage of the palace was allotted to petitioners; here the king received their papers, listened to their complaints, and frequently decided upon the spot; but, according to Fassmann, the delivery of petitions was a very ticklish undertaking, as the success of them depended chiefly on the humour in which his majesty happened to be.

At twelve o'clock, the king regularly sat down to dinner, to which company was always invited. They remained at table an hour and a half or two hours, according as the allowance of one bottle was followed by an additional half, a whole, or three half bottles of old Rhenish. This the king left to the appetite of his guests and the majority of votes. "In voting," says Morgenstern, "the half bottles were called 'half Massows,' in honour of general Massow, because that officer, at the recommendation of pastor Schiemeier, would never exceed half a bottle at a time." If the king was pleased with the conversation, he would often follow up the Rhenish with Tokay. Fassmann tells us that, in Berlin, the company at the king's table amounted in general to about forty persons. We learn from the same writer, that between Easter and Whitsuntide one of the daily dishes at the royal table consisted of baked frogs, of

which his majesty was very fond, and of which any of his guests was at liberty to partake.

"His majesty," continues the last-named writer, "has no regular supper, but when he is in his kitchen-garden, near Potsdam, there must always be a variety of dishes; fish, crabs, asparagus, roast meat, ham, smoked tongue, Brunswick sausages, salad, butter, and cheese. At such times, his majesty takes a pleasure in making a dish of salad with his own hands, and this is done in such a way that one cannot help eating of it with the greatest relish, for his majesty washes his hands three or four times and dries them as often on two or three napkins. And I will say here, that neatness and cleanliness are, in a manner, the soul and life at the Prussian court, though extravagant pomp is banished from it.

"At the king's table, every one usually drinks as much beer and wine as he pleases. When his majesty has been hunting and had good sport, the wine is not spared; and, at other times, there is tolerably hard drinking, when foreign ministers and generals, or Prussian officers, called from other places, are at the royal table. The wine drunk is always very good Rhenish, of which his majesty constantly has a large stock. The master-butler, and other persons belonging to the king's cellars, travel every year in the empire to buy up the best Rhenish wine, in large quantity, for his Prussian majesty, so that the stock of Rhenish wines in the royal cellars at Berlin is not to be matched at any

court, excepting, perhaps, that of the elector of Mentz. Some of these wines are very old. The king has likewise a large stock of Hungarian wines; and, if I am not mistaken, about five years ago, he laid out at once thirty-five thousand dollars upon them, though he often receives presents of such wines from the emperor. But the Hungarian wines are used far more sparingly than the Rhenish, which frequently flow profusely at the Prussian court. French, Italian, and Spanish wines are never drunk there. As for the kinds of beer drunk at Potsdam, they are these: Duckstein, which, as it is well known, comes from Königs-Lutter, in Brunswick; Moll, brewed at Cöpenick, two short (German) miles from Berlin; and Swedish beer, as it is called, brewed in Potsdam. The Swedish ambassador having recommended Swedish beer as a good wholesome beverage, the king, through his means, procured a brewer from Stockholm, and it is now eight years since this beer has been made at Potsdam, and drunk at court there, and when his majesty is at Wusterhausen."

In his walks, the king sometimes picked up hints for his kitchen, as he would invite himself occasionally, and was even known to take pot-luck, with entire strangers. A dish of sheep's chitterlings, with cauliflower, that was once set before him at the house of a tradesman, he liked so well, that he made minute inquiries concerning the way in which it was cooked, and the price; and he was not a little

pleased to learn that it cost no more than ten *dreier*, between four pence and five pence English money. He soon afterwards gave orders to his cook for a dish of the same kind, and, finding a charge of three dollars made for it, he sent for the man and severely reproved him for his dishonesty.

The king was so fond of fruit, that even when he was invited out to dinner, he had a basket of strawberries, peaches, melons, plums, according to the season, brought after him from one of his gardens. A grenadier of the guard was generally entrusted with this commission. One day, when the king was dining with general Grumbkow, the grenadier came, but later than he was expected, with the basket. The king hastily removed the cloth, that the company might see and taste the exquisite melons and other fine fruit which he had been praising so highly; but what was his astonishment to find in the basket nothing but cheese and butter! Still greater was the fright of the grenadier, who fell at the king's feet, and confessed that, in passing through the park, he had sat down upon the grass, to rest himself for a moment, with a country girl, and he must have changed baskets with her. As the company interceded for the man, the king pardoned him, and gave him the basket and its contents into the bargain.

After dinner, when the weather permitted, the king generally rode out, attended by a page and a couple of grooms. At Potsdam and Wusterhausen, he frequently walked. When he used a carriage, it

was generally an open chaise, with two horses, in which he had with him his sons, William, Henry, and Ferdinand. When in Berlin, he inspected the new buildings in progress, questioned pedestrians as to their occupations, drove such as he saw lounging about to work, and occasionally listened to the complaint of some poor fellow who was unable to gain a hearing from any minister or authority, or who had been ill-treated by his lord.

The king wished every one who spoke to him to look him plump in the face, as he was sure that he could read in a person's eyes whether he was speaking the truth. Hence, he was very angry when any one who saw him coming got out of his way. A dancing-master, to avoid meeting him one day, scampered off as fast as his legs would carry him, and ran into a house. The king sent a page to call him back, inquired minutely who and what he was, and, to make sure that he was what he represented himself to be, he made him dance a sarabande on the spot. Another French dancing-master fared rather worse. Riding along a broad street on horseback, he met the king, and galloped away without heeding his majesty's call. The king sent his page after him; he overtook him at last, and found him hid in a hay-loft, outside the Cöpenick gate. When taken before the king, he gave himself out to be a traveller for a commercial house at Marseilles; and as this was ascertained to be a falsehood, his majesty sent him to wheel rubbish for a month at St. Peter's

church, which was then building. A Jew pedlar, who expected no good from a meeting in a narrow street, tried to get out of the way. The king overtook him. "Why do you run away?" he asked. "Because I was afraid," replied the trembling Jew. "You ought not to fear me—you ought to love me," rejoined the king, at the same time giving him a taste of his Spanish cane. Sometimes, for a change, his majesty carried long knotty sticks of whitethorn, two of which sceptres of his own growing are preserved in the Museum of Berlin. Others, who had the courage to face the king, sometimes made their fortune. One day he stopped a candidate of divinity in the street, and, on learning that he was a native of Berlin, told him, that the Berlin people were good for nothing. "That is the rule, to be sure," replied the candidate, "but I know two Berlin boys who are exceptions." "And who are they?" "Your majesty and myself," replied the candidate. The king desired him to call the following day at the palace, and, having reason, on further examination, to be satisfied with him, he immediately gave him a living.

In the rounds which the king took for the purpose of inspecting the building of the Friedrichsstadt, he was generally accompanied by M. Heidenreich, the overseer of the works. One day, as the latter was sitting at table in his morning gown, the king stopped before his house, and sent a servant to call him. Knowing that his majesty disliked waiting,

he just slipped on his wig, and apologized for not being dressed. The king commended his attention to his duty, and took him with him in his carriage, alighting from time to time to look at the buildings. The group was rather comic. In this manner, the king was accustomed to inform himself on the spot of the progress made in the building of the new houses, and occasionally to restore peace and order in the old ones; for, wherever he heard altercation and quarrelling, he went in and inquired the cause. Thus, in the round that he made with Heidenreich, he settled a quarrel between a married pair, whom he induced to shake hands, and to promise that they would never fall out again.

His route, and perhaps curiosity, led him one day to what was called "the dark cellar," now a smoking room, outside the Halle gate, and then an hermitage. There, a pious recluse, who had been one of the servants of the Great Elector, and had exchanged his German name, Schneider (tailor), for the Latin, Sartorius, dwelt in a cave, which he had dug for himself in the hill overgrown with wood, and lived upon the donations of the charitable. The king had heard of him, and, passing that way, he stopped before his cave. "I have forgot your name, old gentleman," said the king. "My name is Sartorius." "Is not that Schuster (shoe-maker) in German?" "No; it is Schneider" (tailor)." But why have you chosen such an extraordinary way of life? —you must have a singular religion." "Let me live

as I like," rejoined the hermit; "my way of life shall give scandal to nobody; and, for the rest, I am a good Protestant." "But your belief does not seem to me to be quite orthodox." "And yet," replied the old man, "my belief is just the same now as it was when I read the Psalms to your grandfather." "In that case, I have nothing to say against it: here is a florin for you." "It is too much," said the modern Diogenes, who never accepted any money but small copper coin, and he retired into his cave, while the king continued his ride.

In these excursions, the meanest of his subjects was allowed access to his majesty. One day, a peasant ran along by his carriage, holding up a paper. The king ordered the driver to stop, took the paper, and was surprised to find upon it no writing, but merely a square, containing nothing but scrawls and blots of ink: He inquired what it meant. The peasant said that, being unable to write, he could not describe his case in any other way than by this drawing. "Well," said the king, "just explain it to me." The peasant, mounting upon the step of the carriage, began thus, in his low German dialect: "This here, look you, is my turnip field, and those are my turnips; ah! such turnips, Mr. King, you ought to taste them—they are nice, indeed." "Go on," said the king. "Well, these here, look you," continued the peasant, pointing to the blots, "are the amtmann's pigs; they have got

in and ate up my nice turnips, so I am now a ruined man. Dear Mr. King, the amtmann will not pay me for the damage, and that's very wrong, and so I want just to beg you to be so kind as to send word to the amtmann to pay me for my turnips. I shan't begrudge a dish of turnips, and I'll be sure to bring you some, if you'll see me righted." The king ordered the name of the village, of the amtmann, and of the peasant, to be taken down, and promised to help him. The village was not far from Berlin, and he sent the same day a jäger to the amtmann, with a very serious admonition to make the peasant immediate compensation. This had the desired effect: the amtmann not only satisfied the demands of the complainant, but gave him more than he had asked. A day or two afterwards, the peasant, laden with a bag full of turnips, entered the king's antechamber. His majesty ordered him to be admitted. The peasant, by way of expressing his acknowledgment, emptied his bag of turnips on a table; then picking out a few small ones, he handed them to the queen, telling her, that if she would keep one of them in her mouth when she was spinning, it would help her to wet the thread properly. The queen was pleased with the good-natured familiarity of the man, and he was dismissed with a present.

The king was very fond of conversing in his walks with persons who did not know him, and whom he would question upon all sorts of subjects relating to the court and the government Having

walked one day a considerable distance along the high road, engaged in such a conversation with a candidate of theology, the latter complained of the difficulty of obtaining an appointment when a man had no *cousins* in Berlin. The king bade him keep up his spirits, and asked if he could give him a light for his pipe. The parson had everything handy, and produced fire at a single stroke—"Pop!" said he, "there's a light for the gentleman." "Alia!" cried the king, "if you go through your examination in that way, pop upon pop, you cannot fail of succeeding." His majesty inquired where he was to be found in Berlin, and sent for him on the following day to the palace, upon the pretext that his cousin wanted to speak to him there. The reader may conceive the astonishment of the candidate on discovering that his new acquaintance was the king. The latter assured him that, if he got over his examination well, he would be a cousin to him, and desired him to come the next day to the palace, to preach upon a text that he should give him. The candidate attended, and a paper was put into his hand; on looking at it, he found it to be blank—"Here nothing," said he,—turned the other side, which was blank too,—"there nothing! Out of nothing God made the world." On this text he preached so much to the satisfaction of the king, that after the sermon he called out to him, "Pop! there's a living for the gentleman!" and he kept his word.

When the king was prevented from riding on horseback by the gout, with which he was afflicted during the last ten years of his life, he went abroad in an open chaise, generally accompanied by two or three officers. When his complaint or the weather hindered him from taking these airings, he was accustomed, after dinner, to employ himself in painting, which afforded him an agreeable recreation, and, as he said, did not interfere with the process of digestion. Nothing was so insupportable to this indefatigable sovereign as to be unemployed. Though there were then some tolerable artists belonging to the Academy of Arts, and five painters to the king were enumerated in the court calendar, he generally contented himself with master Hänschen (Johan Adelfing), who had to paint for him the portraits of the peasants, servants, and tall grenadiers, and to prepare his colours. Hänschen had a fixed salary of one hundred dollars per year, and a florin for every day that he was in attendance; and, whenever his pupil's performance fell short of his expectations, he never failed to reap an abundant harvest of blows and thumps. As a second assistant, he had a bombardier, named Fuhrmann, who knew something about painting; but, if a portrait was to be executed in the best manner, the assistance of Weidemann, one of the painters to the king, was required. The merit of the pieces so produced was indeed very inferior, but the pupil had made as much proficiency in the art as the

master. When, therefore, Schütz, the picture-dealer, offered the king, at his smoking-party, a louis-d'or for every picture, he was in good earnest, well knowing that he could dispose of these royal performances for at least twice or thrice as much.

The king had sent for this man to ascertain how much he could earn daily by his art; and as a portrait took him five days, he was satisfied with the certainty that, in the worst event, he could earn his living by painting, as he reckoned that he could make a good shift with a dollar per day. As some of the members of the smoking party nevertheless had doubts whether the king could maintain himself by painting, he sent for a tradesman who supplied the court with various articles, and offered him some of his pictures, for which the man, who could not well decline the bargain, agreed to give a hundred dollars apiece. The king was soon afterwards informed that this dealer had hung up the pictures in the front of his shop, with this inscription,—"Painted by the hand of his majesty the king." This public exhibition was disagreeable to him; he therefore sent back the money and desired to have his pictures returned. The purchaser declined complying with this demand, and sent word to the king that he could not part with such valuable pictures for the low price which he had paid for them, and the king was obliged to allow him a considerable profit before he could get them back.

The king had to listen to many other jokes

about his paintings. One day, he asked the keeper of one of his palaces, who was a Dutchman, what he thought of a hunting-piece which he had just finished. The man assured him that it was painted precisely in the style of Bas Clas, a celebrated Netherland master, who, to explain the meaning of his figures, marked them with letters, and wrote underneath: "Painted by Bas Clas. A is a dog, and B is a hare." Several of the king's performances are preserved: underneath some of them—executed while he had the gout—is to be seen, in his own hand-writing: "In tormentis pinxit F. W."

According to the usual routine, the king went, in summer at seven, in winter at five, to the evening party so celebrated, under the name of "Tabacks-collegium," as to deserve a page in the history of Prussia. It may not be amiss to observe that Frederick I. had been accustomed to have the same kind of smoking parties, only with this difference, that in his time the etiquette of the court was not to be disturbed even by clouds of tobacco smoke; as may be seen in a picture in the palace of Berlin, painted by Leygebe, where the queen, in a dress of state, and adorned with all the orders, is holding a splinter to light the king's long pipe with her own delicate hand. Around are seated, with their heads enveloped in huge wigs and smoke, the generals and ministers in their state uniforms, in strict order of precedence: and there is no lack of pages and other attendants.

In Frederick William's parties, there was no restraint of this kind. Every day, whether the king was at Berlin, Potsdam, or Wusterhausen, and not obliged to absent himself by illness, invitations, or festivities at court, a party, generally consisting of from six to eight persons, mostly generals and staff-officers of the king's retinue, used to assemble at the palace. Sometimes persons of inferior distinction, travelling foreigners, and literary men who had gained celebrity by their adventures or their works, were invited. The old prince of Anhalt, though he did not smoke, was obliged to keep a pipe in his mouth, and so was count Seckendorf, the imperial ambassador, who, in acquiescence with the king's rule, had learnt to puff so expertly with his lips, as to have the appearance of a regular smoker. The pipes, a complete collection of which is still preserved in the Museum of Berlin, were short Dutch pipes of the most ordinary kind, and were kept in plain deal boxes: those of the king were tipped with silver and distinguished by carved work. They are so brown with smoking that they must have been a long time in use. The tobacco, light Dutch leaf, stood on the table in little platted baskets, and by them small fire-pans with burning turf, for lighting the pipes. When a guest brought his own tobacco of a better sort, the king was very angry. Before each person were set a white jug with beer and a glass: each poured out for himself, as the servants were excluded. About seven o'clock

bread, butter, and cheese were brought, and sometimes ham and veal cutlets were set on a side-table, where each might help himself to what he pleased. Sometimes, too, the king treated his guests to a dish of fish and a salad dressed with his own hands. "Before he killed the fish," relates an eye-witness, "he washed his hands; when the pieces were in the pot, he washed again, in order to mix the salad with salt and vinegar, and again before he put the oil to it, and twice more before he dished the fish and sat down to the table. On occasion of such a treat, he would send for Tokay, of which he had a large stock, of the finest quality and of great age; although in general no other beverage was provided for the smokers but either Duckstein, Köpenick, or Swedish beer. A half-barrel was set up and tapped for every sitting."

In Berlin the king's smoking party assembled in a detached room on the bank of the Spree, on the spot which was afterwards the Parade; and the room itself was subsequently converted into a sculptor's workshop. The furniture of this room consisted of a long deal table, with a bench on each side, of the same material, and at one end an arm-chair, as rude as all the rest, for the king. At the other end was another arm-chair, just like his majesty's, except that the back was surmounted by two large hare's ears, an emblem among the Germans of a court-jester or fool. This chair was thus decorated because it was reserved for an old servant, who was

admitted into this company, where he acted the part of messenger and buffoon. Here Frederick William heard the anecdotes of the day, and communicated such facts as he had picked up or observed. Here, too, his companions strove to influence and to sway him according to their interests and passions. Thus this smoking party became the focus of more or less important intrigues, into the secret of which the king was the only person who was not initiated. One evening, a member of this club said, that he thought he had that day made a good bargain in purchasing an estate which he mentioned, at a certain price. Baron Pöllnitz, who regularly attended these meetings, insisted that it was a bad bargain, and that it would ruin him. A discussion ensued, and the result was, that the baron admitted that if the buyer could have paid the whole of the purchase-money, the bargain would have been a favourable one; but, as ten thousand crowns were yet to be paid, the interest of that sum, repairs, accidents, and expense of cultivation, would be likely to absorb, in a few years, the whole property and the remainder of the little fortune of the owner. The king, to whose decision both parties appealed, listened and said nothing. Presently the conversation turned upon some other subject. Frederick William left the room; two hours elapsed and he had not returned: the party knew not what to do. It was customary with him to say Good night, on retiring, when he did not mean to come back, but this time he had gone

without saying anything. He would no doubt be disappointed if he came back and they were gone, whereas, if they waited for him, they might perhaps have to wait all night. At length, about half-past twelve, the king returned, followed by two servants laden with bags of money. These he gave to the purchaser of the estate, saying, "Since Pöllnitz himself admits that you would have made a good bargain if you could have paid the whole purchase-money, and you are an excellent man and a good citizen, I give you the sum deficient, for I should not like to see you run the risk of being ruined for want of this assistance." "As it was the baron who had devised this expedient for obtaining the money, it is natural," says Thiébault, who is my authority for this anecdote, "to suppose that he had his share of it, especially as on occasions of this kind he was accustomed to stipulate beforehand how much he should have in case of success."

So loath was the king to miss this evening party that, even when confined to his bed by severe pain, he would be carried to the place of meeting, or send to desire the company to come to him. A few weeks before his death, he invited the generals and officers who were accustomed to be of the smoking party to spend the evening with him. They assembled in a large saloon in the palace at Berlin; pipes and tobacco were brought, but it was considered a bad omen that the king himself did not smoke. Though in a good humour, he was in a state of great

irritability, which occasioned a very unpleasant scene. "The hereditary prince," says Pöllnitz, "unexpectedly entered the saloon, having come back from Ruppin, where he had mustered his regiment. We were sitting in a large circle. As soon as we saw the prince, we all rose and made our obeisance to him. This was a violation of the laws of the smoking party, which decreed that no one should rise even for the king himself, when he entered or retired. The king, seeing that his companions rose for the prince royal, was extremely angry. He said that we were worshipping the rising sun, but he would let us know that he still lived and reigned. His valets were obliged to assist him to his apartment, and he sent word that we should all leave the palace and not show our faces there again. It was some time before his daily companions were re-admitted to his presence, but not without severe reprimands. The king told the duke of Holstein, he must not imagine that because he was a prince he could take greater liberties than any other; and that he, like the rest, should lose his head if he continued to worship the rising sun."

The king was particularly anxious to have in his evening society persons well versed in history, geography, and political science. French, Dutch, and German newspapers lay on the table, and the articles contained in them furnished subjects for conversation. The Berlin papers the king never read, because they contained nothing but articles

copied from the foreign journals. At the beginning of his reign he even prohibited them, so that they were not published in 1713 and 1714. When the *Dutch Courant*, a paper very much read at that time, related that, "a flugelman of the tall grenadier guard had died at Potsdam, and on opening his body it was found to contain two stomachs, but no heart," the king ordered a letter to be written to the editor, intimating that the account was quite correct, but one circumstance had been omitted, namely, that the deceased was a *Dutchman*.

By way of variety, the king allowed a game at chess or draughts: cards were prohibited. He himself was accustomed to play at tocadille, a game played with dice like backgammon, with general Flanss, a Pomeranian nobleman of the roughest stamp. When the king once remarked to the general that it was not right for them two to play for nothing, like tailors, and that in future the game must be for a groschen ($1\frac{1}{2}d.$), Flanss replied in his low German dialect, "I shall do no such thing. Your majesty is ready to throw the dice at my head when we play for nothing; and how would it be if I were to play with you for money?" The king was fond of such jokes, and those who indulged in them were his most welcome companions. The duke of Holstein, whose manner was rather too assuming, learned also that it was dangerous to meddle with the general. The duke having one evening interrupted him in his usual pompous way, the general

spread out the map of Europe before him, and, apologizing for taking all the candles, pretended to be looking eagerly for some particular place. The king was curious to know what the general was seeking, and the latter replied, "I am looking for the country of those dukes of Holstein, but it must be a confounded little scurvy spot, for I can't find it, though the gentleman does talk so big."

General Dockum was not less distinguished for his blunt answers. The conversation once turning on the book of Job, the king asked the general what he thought of the order given to Satan to report on Job's behaviour. "Why," replied he, "I always thought it rather a strange proceeding of God Almighty: it was just the same as if your majesty were to come to Prussia to inspect my regiment, and to say to my provost, 'You fellow, what is your general about?'"

In such cases bold pithy answers told best. A colonel who had just returned from Paris, and was invited to the smoking party, was asked by the king what he thought of the royal family. "Why, your majesty," replied the officer, "they are all little stuff for the third rank; none of 'em measures above five feet."

When Clement, whose case I shall have occasion to notice hereafter, had excited suspicions in the king's mind against his most intimate associates, Grumbkow, the prince of Anhalt, and others, he admitted for a time none but citizens of Potsdam to his smoking party. At Wusterhausen the school-

master sometimes received an invitation. This man had gained considerable respect, because the king could not induce the boys returning home from school to shout, "Our schoolmaster is an ass!" being unable to persuade them that they ought to obey him in preference to their master.

The princes usually went in the evening to the smoking room to wish the king good night. As boys, they were sometimes exercised there by the officers present, and it was always a difficult task to induce them to return to the queen's apartments, where they were not allowed so much liberty. When the prince royal was grown up, he was also obliged to attend these meetings, notwithstanding his dislike of tobacco smoke and the jokes of the company.

In this society the king wished to be treated as a private person, and therefore forbade all ceremonious salutation. So completely did he place himself on an equality with the rest of the party, that, having once received an affront, to which he had himself indeed given occasion, he demanded the usual satisfaction with the sword. One evening, when the party had been drinking hard, the king applied to major Jurgas, who was fond of displaying his learning, a coarse epithet invented to express contempt for literature and science. The major in his cups retorted, "He is a scoundrel who says so," and immediately withdrew. The king declared to those present that, as an officer and a man of honour, who neither could nor would suffer any stigma to attach

to him, he was ready to settle the matter with sword or pistols. The company exclaimed against this intention, observing that he was not only an officer, but also a king, and that, as such, he ought not to fight unless for insults offered to the state. The king, however, insisted on having satisfaction as an officer, and it was determined that some other officer should challenge and fight major Jurgas instead of the king. Major Einsiedel, who was the king's representative with the battalion, undertook the office, fought the next day with Jurgas, in the wood behind the Parade, with the sword, and received a slight wound in the arm. With his arm bound up, he made his report to the king, who expressed his thanks, and hung about him a musqueteer's cartouch-box, asking him whether he would walk with it along the street, if it were filled with money. The major replied in the affirmative, and the king, having with his own hands filled the cartouch-box with hard dollars, gave the word of command, "March." The king considered the affair as settled with Jurgas, and never resented the affront.

In the palace of Charlottenburg there is a picture representing the smoking party, by an unknown hand. At the head of a long table, on a wooden stool, is seated the king, in a coat of blue cloth, yellow breeches, and white linen gaiters, holding a reeking pipe in his hand. Next to him, on his right, sits the prince royal, in white uniform turned up with blue: he is the only one who is not

holding a pipe. At the table are seated eleven other persons on long wooden benches, in white, blue, and gray clothes; the portraits of several officers and ministers are recognisable. At the lower end is the buffoon, having a tame hare by his side. The king's physician and surgeon sit aside near the wall. Two of the young princes, in blue uniform, like the king, are entering, with three-cornered hats in their hands, to wish their father good night.

Two standing festivals were celebrated every autumn at Wusterhausen: the anniversary of the battle of Malplaquet, on the 11th of September, and St. Hubert's day, on the 3rd of November*. In celebration of the first, there was a grand hunt, for which two stags were turned out. The dinner was enlivened not only by the whippers-in, with their bugles and hunting cries, but also by the whole band of oboeists from Berlin. The company drank deep, and large glasses went round. Several small cannon were planted on the lawn of the old palace, near the Turkish tent, and these were fired at every toast. At length his majesty began to dance, but only with officers, especially old generals. Among these was lieutenant-general Pannewitz, who received a severe wound on the head at the battle of Malplaquet. At this dance there were no ladies.

Förster, from whom I have derived these particulars, observes that, according to the calendar, St. Hubert's day falls on the 30th of March. Hubert is considered as the patron saint of sportsmen.

The queen always retired with the princesses and her ladies as soon as dinner was over.

St. Hubert's day was celebrated much in the same manner, and on this occasion, too, there was hard drinking. "This was particularly the case in 1728," says Fassmann; "for, a few days before, a valet came from the king of Poland at Dresden, and brought his Prussian majesty various presents, and among the rest a silver mortar, with a bomb, likewise of silver gilt. This mortar was tolerably heavy, so that the old generals could scarcely lift it with both hands. Though in a fit state for throwing bombs, this mortar served for a goblet to drink toasts out of, and it circulated merrily for the purpose of drinking the health of the king of Poland; so that, for my part, never did I witness so jovial a celebration of St. Hubert's day as this at the court of Prussia."

The marriage of the princess Marie Henriette, daughter of the margrave of Schwedt, with Frederick Louis, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg Stuttgard, on the 8th of December, 1716, was the first solemn festivity at the court of Frederick William I. According to ancient custom, the ball on the wedding night concluded with the torch dance, at which ten generals carried the torches before the young couple. The king, the queen, and the other princely personages, then accompanied them to the nuptial chamber, where the king untied the bride's garter, which the grand gouvernante cut in pieces, and distributed them among those present.

CHAPTER V.

Frederick William's Amusements.—Court Fools, or "Merry Councillors."—Jacob Paul Gundling, President of the Royal Academy.—Professor David Fassmann.—Dr. Bartholdi.—Graben zum Stein.—John Erdmann Nossig.—Jäckel.—The Theatre.—Music.—Eckenberg, "the Strong Man."—The Chase.—Boar-hunts.—Dangers attending them.—Adventure of Major von Haak.—Disposal of the Game.—Hunting Seat of Neuhausen.—Silver Musket and Powder Horn.—Partridge Shooting.—Early Dinners.

THE most indispensable companions of the king were the court fools, or, as they were called by a more decorous name, the "court literati," and "merry councillors." With a thirst after information, and a dislike to be idle, even in his hours of recreation, the king could not be satisfied with the society of his generals, whose attainments were extremely limited; and very often his privy councillors themselves could not answer the questions that he proposed. He wished, therefore, for a companion who could enlighten him on any subject whatever, a scholar without pedantry, but of such a disposition as to submit to be the butt of his smoking party. All these qualities were united in the person of Jacob Paul Gundling, a native of the bishopric of Eichstädt, whom Frederick I. appointed professor of the academy of nobles, founded in Berlin, councillor to the supreme heralds' college, and historiographer. Both the academy and the heralds' college were

abolished by Frederick William; Gundling was consequently thrown out of employment, and spent his time chiefly in wine and beer houses, where he acquired some reputation by his illustrations of the newspapers, and as a political reasoner, so that the keeper of one of those places, named Bleusot, allowed him to have what he pleased without charge, for the sake of attracting customers. Here he was found by general Grumbkow, who instantly perceived that he was the very man whom the king was seeking for his smoking party. He recommended him, and introduced him to his majesty at one of the next meetings. Frederick William was so pleased with Gundling, that he immediately secured his services; he soon became his majesty's daily guest, and accompanied him wherever he went for the sake of pleasure. Any one who had the honour of entertaining the king was obliged to invite Gundling also; and Grumbkow even had a pulpit built, in which Gundling read and commented upon the newspapers during dinner. The most dangerous privilege which the king conferred on Gundling was free access to the royal beer and wine cellar. The learned councillor addicted himself to drinking so immoderately, that, both in the smoking party and at the royal table, he very often appeared intoxicated, and never quitted it otherwise than completely drunk; sometimes, indeed, in so helpless a state, that he had to be carried home. As the king made his provosts wear French

bags, that they might be regarded as ignominious, so he strove to make the court gala dress ridiculous, by requiring Gundling to appear in no other.

This dress the king sent to him in 1717, with the appointment of grand master of the ceremonies. It consisted of a red coat, lined with black velvet, with gold button-holes and large French cuffs, and a richly embroidered waistcoat. His head was adorned with a prodigious wig of white goats'-hair, descending in many hundred curls, and a large hat with red ostrich feathers. The breeches were straw-coloured; with these he wore red silk stockings with gold clocks, and red-heeled shoes. This gala dress was not long in the best condition. The wearer rarely went home without tumbling into some ditch or kennel, and if he did chance to keep upon his legs, he could not escape the very coarse practical jokes played off upon him, in general at the instigation of the king. Once, in winter, when the grand master of the ceremonies was reeling across the bridge from the palace of Wusterhausen, he was seized by four stout grenadiers, who bound him hand and foot, and let him down, with terrible outcries, into the moat, which was frozen. The rope slipped out of their hands, and Gundling fell with such violence that the centre of gravity broke through the ice, and he had the greatest difficulty to keep himself from sinking, with his elbows and his feet. Means were instantly taken to get him out, but he lost both hat and wig in this cold bath. The king was so

delighted with the scene, that he had it painted several times. On another occasion, some mischievous wags put two young bears, remarkable for their nastiness, and which ran about like yard dogs at the palace of Wusterhausen, into Gundling's bed, and then carried the drunken historian to pass the night with these delectable bed-fellows, who made him in such a pickle that for several days he was not admitted to the royal table.

Fassmann once had an adventure with these bears. "When," he relates, "I was summoned to Wusterhausen in the autumn of 1728, I was not aware that six young bears were running about there. These animals had their fore-paws tied behind them, so that they were obliged to walk on their hinder legs. Being one of the last that left the king's smoking party, as I was going away, between eleven and twelve at night, the moon shining brightly, I found myself, on entering the court-yard of the palace to go to my quarters, surrounded by several little black figures, which trotted to and fro about me. At first I was rather startled, and knew not what to make of them, till, after a while, I perceived that they were not imps, but young bears. At Potsdam an old blind bear belonging to the king used to go about the town: his teeth had been broken out, and his fore-claws nearly pared down. When the guard was called out, this bear would join them under arms. This blind irrational creature, whenever he heard the voice of the king, would always run to

him, and throw his fore-paws about his neck, and show his fondness and attachment to his majesty in every possible way, to the great surprise of all who saw it, especially as he never did so to any other person."

The permission to appear daily at court, and the distinctions paid to him there, filled Gundling with such inordinate vanity, that it bordered on madness. This vanity, Frederick William took delight in feeding. Next to the etiquette of the court, the king thought nothing more ridiculous than the Academy of Sciences. All that this body did, from one year's end to another, was to prepare the almanac: never did anything useful to the state or in common life emanate from it; the only question that the king ever proposed to it—why champagne foams?—it had not answered, but asked him for a dozen bottles for experiments. To express his sentiments of this institution without reserve, the king appointed Gundling its president, and not merely for a joke; for he ordered him to be formally installed, and a salary of two hundred dollars to be paid to him out of the coffers of the society.

But, notwithstanding all the honours and dignities conferred upon him, Gundling adhered to his old course of life, and the king and his smoking companions continued to teaze him in every possible way. The king, having one day found him rolling about before a low public-house at Potsdam, directed that he should be lifted into a peasant's cart, which

happened to be stopping there, and carried through the streets of the town till he should be sobered by the shaking and jolting of the vehicle. Another time the doorway into his room at the palace was walled up, so that when he came back at night from the smoking party, he tried a long time in vain to find the key-hole, and at last got into the bears' den, where one of the old ones gave him so rough a hug, that it made him spit blood for several days. From that time he kept himself closely shut up in his room, and stayed away from court. Entreaties, commands, threats, were of no avail; it was, therefore, resolved to burn him out of his den, like a fox or a badger. A breach was made in the door, and through the hole so many squibs and crackers were flung into the room, that the grand master of the ceremonies was obliged to leap out of the window in his dressing-gown. But the satirical articles which the king got inserted in the foreign papers, through the medium of his envoys, were far more keenly felt by Gundling than the hugs of bears and the caresses of apes.

Weary at length of such treatment, he resolved to abscond, and succeeded in reaching Halle; other accounts say Breslau. To Frederick William his fool was so indispensable, that he ordered every possible effort to be made to discover him. As soon as he learned whither Gundling had fled, he sent after him, and had him secured and carried back to Potsdam. The king at first affected to be in a violent

passion, and threatened to have him tried as a deserter; but, seeing that Gundling took the matter so deeply to heart, that he had even lost all relish for his glass, and that there was reason to be apprehensive lest he might do himself a mischief, the smoking party, with the king at their head, repaired in a body to the room of the grand-master of the ceremonies. Wine, beer, and tobacco were provided in plenty; they begged him to forget and forgive, and assured him that, without so eminent a scholar and statesman, the welfare of the realm would be put in jeopardy. The king promised an increase of salary and higher dignities; on which Gundling was appeased, and again took his place in the smoking party. His majesty kept his word; he gave him an addition of one thousand dollars, and created him a baron; but the very patent clearly shows that, in so doing, the king intended to ridicule not only Gundling's vanity, but also the folly of those who place rank above merit.

The dignity of chamberlain was likewise destined to experience the satirical humour of the king, who in 1726 conferred the key, the token of it, on baron Gundling. At a full meeting of the smoking club, the appointment was delivered to him, and the gold key fastened by the riband to his coat. Gundling was vain enough to feel highly flattered, and never went abroad without his gold key. But, as his daily course led to the wine-shop, and he frequently slept off his debauch in filthy places, some officers one

day, for a frolic, cut off his key, and carried it to the king. Next day, when Gundling appeared at court without his key, the king took him severely to task, and intimated that he must expect to be treated in the same manner as a soldier who parts with his musket for drink. In vain did Gundling implore pardon; the king pretended to be very angry, and desired him to come to him the next day. Here, in solemn conclave, a wooden key, gilt, at least a yard long, was handed to him on a wooden platter of proportionate dimensions, and fastened by a huge blue riband to his bosom, that it might always be in his sight. He was ordered never to appear without this key upon pain of the royal displeasure. After he had dragged this ponderous distinction about for a week, the lost key was restored to him, and this time he had it fastened with strong wire to the skirt of his coat by a locksmith. By way of a new frolic, the king ordered an ape to be dressed exactly like Gundling, and decorated with a chamberlain's key. At dinner, he then reproved the grand master of the ceremonies for his dissolute life, and for his youthful transgressions, saying it was scandalous that he should turn his children adrift in the world without making any provision for them. Gundling would have vindicated himself, when the ape, his counterpart, was brought in and presented to him as his son; and Gundling was forced to acknowledge and embrace him, the little brute at the same time making some sharp attacks on his father's wig.

For all these annoyances and affronts, Gundling found ample compensation at the table and in the cellar of the king, and in the titles and honorary distinctions so profusely conferred on him. He was not less flattered by the presents sent to him by foreign sovereigns. For his work on the Russian imperial title, the empress of Russia sent him four gold medals, each worth one hundred dollars. The king for a joke, put into the box, while yet at the post, four flints instead of the medals, at which Gundling, who had already received the empress's letter, was not a little confounded. For his work entitled *Imperialia*, dedicated to the emperor Charles VI., that sovereign transmitted to him his portrait set with diamonds, attached to a gold chain worth a thousand dollars; but we learn from Seckendorf's correspondence with prince Eugene, that this present was conferred, much less on account of the work in question, than for the purpose of disposing Gundling, who was known to have influence with the king, in favour of the house of Austria. Augustus, king of Poland, to whom, during his visit to Berlin in 1728, he presented some of his works, sent him 140 ducats. These were delivered to him in the gardens of Charlottenburg at midnight, at the moment when the king was setting out for Poland. There Gundling lay so drunk as not to know what was passing around him. The messenger could do no more than put the royal gift into his hat, and call some of the persons present to witness that he had executed his commission.

The literary activity which Gundling combined with such degrading habits is rather surprising. Förster gives a list of some of his larger works, to the number of twenty-one, several of which relate to the history and geography of Brandenburg, and the lives of some of its sovereigns; and adds that, among the manuscripts left by him, there is in the royal library the Life of the Elector Frederick III., in five thick folio volumes, and also a Life of Frederick William, the Great Elector. The same writer tells us that Gundling had, moreover, collected a *Codex diplomaticus brandenburgicus* of more than four thousand documents, which has since been employed by Buchholz, in his History of the Electorate. It does not appear, however, that he enjoyed any reputation as a writer; for he could not easily find a publisher for his works. The king, therefore, assisted him partly by orders, partly with money; and sometimes the officers who had played him tricks were required, by way of punishment, to club the amount of the printing expences of one or other of his performances.

The greatest amusement for the king and his smoking associates was when some other literary man was present, and involved himself in a learned altercation with Gundling, which generally terminated in one of the professors laying hold of the other by the wig, and extending him on the floor. Gundling had most to suffer from professor David Fassmann, the author of various popular works, who came to Berlin in 1726, and met with a most flat-

tering reception in the smoking college. The first time that he met Gundling there, the king diverted himself by introducing the grand-master of the ceremonies, in his remarkable costume, as an ambassador from the emperor of Fez and Morocco. Soon afterwards, the king suggested to Fassmann the idea of a satirical work directed against Gundling, and entitled *The Learned Fool.* At the instigation of the king, Fassmann delivered this tract in his presence to the grand-master of the ceremonies, who was so enraged, that he snatched up a fire-pan containing burning turf, and flung it in his face, singeing his eye-lashes, and otherwise injuring him. Fassmann, however, being the better man of the two, took satisfaction on the spot. Throwing Gundling on the floor, he pulled down his nether garment, and belaboured him so severely with the hot pan, that he could not sit for a month. Thenceforward, they generally got to fisticuffs whenever they met at the smoking club. The king at length declared that, as men of honour, and one of them moreover a baron and chamberlain, they ought to settle their differences in another way. Fassmann sent his adversary a challenge to fight with pistols, and Gundling accepted it. But when they had reached the place of meeting, and the deadly instrument was put into Gundling's hand, he was seized with such terror, that he flung it away. Fassmann now discharged his pistol, loaded only with powder, at Gundling's wig, and set it on fire. Gundling dropped, crying that

he was shot through the head, that he was a dead man; but a bucket of water, which was at hand, presently brought him to life again.

At length, however, his literary labours by the nightly lamp, incessant mortifications, and still more his devotion to the bottle, put an end to his life in good earnest. He died April 11th, 1731, in his apartment at the palace of Potsdam. The surgeons who opened his body, by command of the king, "found," says Förster, "that the stomach was ruptured with excessive drinking." As Gundling, during his life-time, had been the butt for every kind of fun, so, after his death, he was destined to afford the members of the smoking party one jovial day. Ten years before, the king had caused a coffin to be made for him in the form of a wine-hogshead, and placed in his room like a piece of furniture; and so familiar did its future tenant become with this narrow dwelling, that, like another Diogenes, he passed many an hour in it, but with the bottle in his hand. It was painted black, with a white cross, upon which were inscriptions in verse, referring to his predominant vice. By command of the king, the body of the grand-master of the ceremonies was attired in his best gala dress of red velvet, turned up with blue, his large wig, red silk stockings and shoes, and then put into the hogshead. Here he *stood*—for there was not room to *lie*—in state for a day, and on the next was conveyed to the church of Bornstädt, near Berlin. The king had invited a

large company to the funeral, which attracted a great concourse of spectators, and was attended by the generals, colonels, and above fifty other officers of the garrisons of Berlin and Potsdam, and by the cabinet councillors, the king's valets, the persons belonging to his majesty's kitchen and cellars, and the school-children. The clergy declined the invitation, on the ground of objection to the form of the coffin. His majesty, thereupon, directed Fassmann, who had so severely annoyed the deceased when living, to deliver a discourse over his remains, which were then carried to Bornstädt in a wagon. Over his grave in the church, his majesty caused a stone to be placed, with a Latin inscription, which, after enumerating his titles, says that "by all who knew him he was admired for his learning, praised for his honesty, loved for his society, and lamented for his death." I should not omit mentioning that Gundling was married, and that his wife survived him.

On Fassmann's petition, the king granted to him the full salary which Gundling had received. He nevertheless secretly quitted the court of Frederick William, and fled to Saxony, for what reason, or at what precise time, we know not, but probably in 1732. There he published his Life of Frederick William I., to which we have been indebted for several extracts; and though he always speaks of his majesty with great respect, yet, as in this work he indulges in severe attacks on some of his colleagues, it was prohibited by the king.

Another of the literary associates of his majesty was a Dr. Bartholdi, who, on Gundling's recommendation, was appointed *Professor Pandectarum*, at Frankfurt on the Oder, and had free admission to the smoking party. His favour, however, was of short duration. He was once indiscreet enough to quit Wusterhausen without taking leave of the king, who was so offended at this liberty, that he sent after him, had him brought back under arrest to Wusterhausen, and tried by the generals and colonels who were there. They sentenced him to be ducked in the moat of the palace, and, after suffering this punishment, he passed some weeks at court, where the king had his usual sport with the "Master of the Pandects," as he was accustomed to call him. He assigned him a gala dress, like Gundling's, and then allowed him to repair to Frankfurt. On a second visit to Wusterhausen, the king caused him to be again tried, on account of certain unbecoming expressions in a publication of his. Katsch, the minister of justice, delivered an opinion purporting, that the unfortunate professor had forfeited his life. This preyed upon his spirits to such a degree, that, long ripe for the mad-house, it was found necessary to send him to Frederick's hospital in Berlin.

A worthy successor of Gundling and Fassmann, was one Graben zum Stein, a native of Tyrol, who ran away from a convent, and went to Sicily, as chaplain of count Seckendorf's regiment. On his return to Vienna, he wrote a work "against the

assumed power of the pope over the bishoprics of Silesia;" this drew upon him the persecution of the clergy, to avoid which he fled to Saxony, where he turned Lutheran, and married. On the recommendation of Seckendorf, Frederick William appointed him, in 1731, to succeed Gundling, as president of the Academy of Sciences; "but," says Pöllnitz, "Graben zum Stein possessed neither Gundling's wit nor his acquirements. His person was mean, and his understanding very limited. He pretended to be an astronomer, whence the king always called him Mr. Astralicus. But, pitiful fellow as he was, he contrived, by officiousness and low submission, to acquire high favour. He had free access to the king, durst not absent himself from the smoking party, and sat up at night in his majesty's bedchamber. Here he was expected to tell stories, or to chat with the attendants, till the king fell asleep. So accustomed was Frederick William to the sound, that sometimes, as soon as the story-teller was silent, he would wake up, and, if he caught Mr. Astralicus nodding, he had a whip at hand to remind him of his duty." This treatment he bore for nine years, till the king's death; and Pöllnitz asserts, that he served as a spy for Seckendorf and baron Ginkel, the Dutch ambassador. These ministers suggested what subjects he was to bring upon the carpet, and he duly reported to them what the king and those around him had said on the occasion, so that no one could safely utter a word in his presence. His

majesty was repeatedly warned to beware of this man; but he found him so indispensable a source of amusement after the loss of Gundling, that he kept him about his person as long as he lived.

John Erdmann Nossig was a fool, who figured at the court of Frederick William, by the title of a councillor of the chase. He was a native of Poland, must have been originally in the army, and rendered himself notorious by frequent desertions. In 1732, the king conferred on him the baronial title. He had a state coat made for him, of green velvet, embroidered all over with hares, apes, hogs, and other animals, in gold and silver, and on the skirt behind was a huntsman, embroidered in like manner, lying in ambush. The rest of the dress corresponded with the coat, and the whole was very costly. In June 1739, the king sent Nossig to Spandau, where he remained till 1742, when he was released by Frederick II. He died in 1766, at the age of eighty-eight.

A fool named Jäckel is related to have come to a very melancholy end. He assured the king that he knew a certain remedy for the gout, if he were only permitted to employ it. The king professed his readiness to give it a trial. Accordingly, in one of his walks, the fool, coming unawares upon his master, pushed him from a very narrow path into a deep piece of water. The king, who thought that the joke was carried rather too far, determined to repay it with another. He ordered the fool to be

put under arrest, and a court-martial to be held upon him. The sentence was, that he should be beheaded, and that the execution should take place on the following day. Jäckel was conducted, amidst solemn preparations, to the spot where the offence was committed. He hoped for pardon, but in vain. The executioner stood ready. Jäckel was required to kneel down; he was blindfolded, and his neck bared. At a sign from the king, one of his retinue drew forth a fresh-made sausage, and struck the culprit with it on the neck. The fool, not prepared for any joke, dropped dead upon the ground: all endeavours to revive him proved unavailing.

The king went very seldom to the theatre, which indeed was in his time in a deplorable state, as, during the last year of his father's reign, the Italian opera, the ballet, and French plays, were given up, and nothing but puppets permitted. Frederick William's mother, Sophie Charlotte, was so warm a friend of the opera, that she had a private theatre fitted up for her herself in her palace of Lietzenburg, subsequently named after her, Charlottenburg. She had immediately about her individuals of such distinguished talents, that Buononcini, the celebrated composer, could perform his opera of *Polifemo* exclusively with persons belonging to the court, among whom was the hereditary princess of Hesse Cassel, while the queen took her place at the harpsichord, in the middle of the orchestra. She was even in treaty with a company of French

comedians, but died before their arrival in Berlin In November 1706, king Frederick I. entered into a contract with a Monsieur Rocher, director of a company at Tournay, who was invested with the title of *Intendant des plaisirs de Sa Majesté*, by which he granted to the company two thousand dollars for travelling expences, an advance of six thousand, and a building and light for their performances. The company, on its part, engaged to perform gratuitously twice a week before the court, either in the city or at any of the palaces, and was allowed to perform twice a week also before the public. In spite of the anathemas launched by the clergy against plays and play-goers, the example set by the court brought the drama more and more into vogue in Berlin; and, to give the actors a public testimony of his regard, the king himself, with the queen, the margrave Christian Louis, count Wartenberg, and the countess Dohna, stood sponsor, in November, 1703, for the infant daughter of Uslenghi, the actor, who was baptized in the church of St. Nicholas.

No such honours were paid to performers by Frederick William I. As prince-royal, he had gone to the French theatre, but only on compulsion; and it was chiefly through him that the *Intendant des plaisirs* and his company were discharged in 1711, when the theatrical wardrobe was distributed among the poor. Hence, beggars were seen soliciting charity in the tinsel drapery of stage heroes, or in the costume of the gods of Greece.

The expence for an Italian opera and a royal band, as kept at the court of Frederick I., was not consistent with the retrenchments made by his successor. The band was dismissed as well as the opera, and one performer only, Gottfried Pepusch, was retained, with the appointment of director of the oboeists of the grenadier regiment at Potsdam. "When king Frederick William was at Potsdam," says Nicolai, "he had music several times a week in autumn and winter in his apartments, and it frequently lasted several hours. He was very fond of Handel's music, and especially of his operas, the airs and choruses of which were not sung, but played on wind instruments. His favourite pieces were the two operas of *Alessandro* and *Siroë*; the airs and choruses of which were played more than a hundred times before him. The performers and their leader, with the requisite desks and lights, stood at one end of a long saloon, while the king sat entirely alone at the other end. As he was apt to dose towards evening, it sometimes happened, especially if he had made a hearty dinner, and, as usual, drunk freely, that he took a nap during the music. In this case, the musicians perhaps omitted some of the airs, that they might get done the sooner. But all at once he would cry, 'You are leaving out something,' or 'You have omitted an air,' and would hum the beginning of it, so familiar was he with Handel's compositions. When he was not aware of these omissions, they usually played the concluding chorus

very loud, that they might waken the king; and if he called for nothing more, the music was over; but if, on awaking, he had not had enough, he perhaps desired the opera which they had been performing to be repeated, and then they durst not make any omissions."

In the first years of his reign, the king issued rigorous ordinances against plays and players, who were not to perform either at fairs or otherwise without the special permission of his majesty; but he took particular pleasure in the feats of a rope-dancer named Eckenberg, commonly called "the strong man." Förster, without mentioning his authority, and without questioning its credibility, attributes to this man such feats, as make me infer that nature must have blessed him with a far more capacious organ of belief than I possess. He tells us that "so great was Eckenberg's bodily strength, that he would with one hand lift a cannon weighing two thousand pounds, and hold it up till a drummer, seated upon it with his drum, had time to drink a glass of wine; that two of the strongest horses were not able to drag him from the spot; and that he would snap a cable like a thread." Such a man was a most welcome *maître des plaisirs* to Frederick William I., and he not only assigned to him the Princes' House in Berlin for assemblies, but granted him permission to give theatrical representations as well as to exhibit feats of rope-dancing and strength.

On the part of the public, however, the interest felt for the drama soon cooled, and the strong man frequently complained to the king that he could not go on, since the theatre, and especially the best places, were always empty. To remedy this evil the king issued an ordinance in 1732, commanding, upon a certain penalty, all the administrative boards in Berlin to take a number of tickets, and to send daily some of their members in turn to the play. Upon the whole, his majesty exercised a rigid censorship over dramatic matters, "and went sometimes to the puppet theatre," says Förster, "merely to satisfy himself that nothing was exhibited there in violation of decorum and good manners."

Frederick William was passionately fond of the chase, and had in his youth a narrow escape from a furious stag, which, in the rutting season, would have gored him with his horns, had not Schulenburg, the page, generously interposed to save him, and lost one of his eyes. As soon as he had ascended the throne, he drew up a precise calendar of the places and seasons for the different kinds of sport: Regularly on the 28th of August the king arrived at Wusterhausen; the queen, with the royal children, was obliged to be there on the same day, disagreeable as the place was to her; and here the court remained for two whole months engaged almost every day in the most boisterous sports.

The king expended considerable sums on his hunting establishments and parks. He kept twelve

whippers-in, who were required to be good huntsmen, good riders, and to play well on the bugle horn. They wore scarlet hunting coats turned up with green velvet, green gold-laced waistcoasts, and leather breeches. Each of these men had his own horse, which, as all these horses were liable to be hunted to death, was never to cost more than thirty-five or forty dollars. Between thirty and forty other horses, and upwards of one hundred dogs were kept for hunting.

Though the game did a great deal of mischief to the husbandman, yet its destruction was prohibited upon very heavy penalties. The wild hogs did, perhaps, more damage in this way than any other species of animals. These had increased so incredibly in Pomerania and the Marks, that, in the boar parks in both countries, three thousand six hundred and two head were killed in a single year, many of them of a size unusual in other parts, and some weighing from five to six hundred pounds. At these hunts a square inclosure of six to seven hundred paces was encompassed with nets, and from two to three hundred wild hogs of all ages and sizes were driven into it. Here the hunters, two and two, awaited them with their boar-spears and hunting knives. If a thrust failed, or the spear broke, the sportsman was often seriously hurt.

As the king exposed himself in these sports to every danger, he expected all who took part in them to do the same. When the dogs had seized

the game, the most resolute of the hunters would hold the hog fast by the ears till the king came up and dispatched it. No boar-hunt took place without some narrow escapes. One of the most singular of these adventures befel major Haak, of the tall grenadier guard. At one of the hunts in Pomerania, he had attacked a large boar, when his spear broke short off in his hand. The enraged beast ran furiously at him, and Haak escaped the sharp tusks of the boar only by spreading out his legs like the colossus of Rhodes, and letting the assailant run between them. This manœuvre was but partially successful; the boar fairly carried off the major upon his back, and imminently perilous as was his situation, seated with his face towards the brute's tail and holding fast by the latter, still the company could not refrain from a burst of laughter. The boar, with his rider bawling for help, made straight towards lieutenant-colonel Münchow. This officer, hastening to the relief of his friend, aimed a thrust with his spear at the animal's side, and hit the major in the calf of the leg. Dogs and huntsmen at last came up, and delivered the rider from his dangerous position. The king also hastened to the spot, and, as Haak was a great favourite with him, it was agreed not to say a word to him about Münchows's awkwardness.

For a chamberlain accustomed to an easy life in ante-chambers, like Pöllnitz, these hunting parties were a most unwelcome amusement, and, therefore,

he never fails to ascribe all the bodily complaints with which the king was afterwards afflicted to his fondness for the chase. "The king," he says, "had to pay dearly for the pleasure that he took in boar-hunting; he trusted too much to the strength of his constitution, and inconsiderately defied the severity of the season. These sports took place in December and January; and the king, who started about five in the morning, would then ride ten or fifteen miles in an open carriage or on horseback. The hunt began at daybreak, and frequently lasted till about four in the afternoon. Even in the most intense cold, the king in general took refreshment in the open air, and the provisions were not merely cold but very often frozen. The party warmed themselves with spirituous liquors; the king thereby undermined his health, but without being aware of it, till the most violent pains obliged him to keep his bed."

In these hunts in Brandenburg and Pomerania, about four thousand wild hogs were generally killed in the space of a few weeks. When the pleasure was over, the king, as a good economist, contrived to sell to advantage the produce of the sport, but certainly in a way most repugnant to the ideas of right and justice prevailing at the present day in every civilized country.

"It is customary," says Fassmann, "that, after boar-hunts, the wild hogs which have been killed are sent to certain persons, with tickets specifying

how much they are to pay for them; and with this custom the people of Berlin, in particular, are obliged to comply. In the first place, the king takes as many as he wants for his establishment, smoked hams and heads of wild boars being very commonly seen at the court of Prussia. His majesty then sends a number as presents to his cousins and other relations, and also to his generals, ministers of state, and other officers. The rest are sent to the royal councillors, secretaries, and clerks in the different colleges; likewise to many citizens, booksellers, shopkeepers, brewers, bakers, distillers, tavern-keepers, but they have to pay three, four, five, or six dollars per head, in proportion to their size. The secretaries and clerks in the offices are generally obliged to take one between two or three of them; but the brewers, who are mostly very wealthy, likewise the bakers and distillers, must each take a whole hog. In this distribution the Jews in Berlin fare the worst; for they, too, are forced to take a certain number of wild hogs, which they pay for without hesitation, and then send to the poor-houses."

In East Prussia the enterprising sportsman of those days found various species of game that did not exist in other parts of the kingdom. The thick forests harboured wild oxen, bears, wolves, elks, and boars of extraordinary size. Here the chase was not a mere pastime, but an occupation commanded by necessity for the welfare of the country, and attended with much greater danger than elsewhere.

Neuhausen, near Königsberg, was a famous old hunting seat, which the king made a point of visiting whenever he went to Prussia. The elector George William, who was so passionately fond of the chase, that, during the distresses of the Thirty Years' war, he gave seven thousand dollars for a hound, chose Neuhausen for his principal hunting seat in East Prussia; and here he instituted, in 1627, the silver musquet and powder-horn, which are now preserved in the Royal Museum in Berlin. This piece was not charged with powder and ball, but with wine; and every one who came for the first time to Neuhausen to hunt, was obliged to empty the musquet, which held three pints and a half, and the powder-flask, which held three pints, each at a single draught, and then to write a rhyme or a sentiment, with his name, in a book, which is likewise preserved. On the 9th of September, 1714, Frederick William paid his first visit to Neuhausen, and did not fail to empty the musquet and powder-flask, and to inscribe his name in the book, as well as the persons of his retinue. The reader may be curious to see what was written on this occasion.

Vivat Preussen.	Friedrich Wilhelm.
Ultra posse nemo obligatur.	Donna.
getreü bis in den thott* [Tod.]	Leopold F. zu Anhalt.
bene vivere et letari.	Graf von Finckenstein.

Des Königes Vergnügen ist unsere Glückseeligkeit†.

Dönhoff.

* "Faithful unto death."

† "The king's pleasure is our happiness."

It has already been mentioned that the queen had to supply the king with powder and ball, which cost not a trifle; but then she derived some advantage from selling the feathered game, for it was impossible to consume at the royal table all that he killed. "I once saw," says Fassmann, "that his majesty had killed, in one day, one hundred and sixty partridges, nine hares, four pheasants, and a remarkably beautiful owl, which last was so handsome that he had a painting made of it . . . . . The number of partridges which the king kills during the autumn amounts in general to four thousand." From an account, kept at Wusterhausen, of the game shot in that neighbourhood only by the king's own hand, it appears that, from 1717 to 1738 inclusive, his majesty killed 20,566 partridges, 1455 pheasants, and 1145 hares. So conscientious was his majesty in the fulfilment of his contract with the queen, that, when confined by illness, he sent general Flanss, who was an excellent shot, to kill partridges in his stead.

To the great vexation of the queen, domestic quiet and regularity were often disturbed by the king's sporting parties. "At Wusterhausen," we are told by Morgenstern, "before the king went out hunting or shooting, he would have dinner served up so early as nine o'clock in the morning; for such were the arrangements of his kitchen, that he could at any time have dinner on table in a quarter of an hour, whether it was at nine o'clock or

twelve, or when he returned from hunting at three in the afternoon. As soon as the king's order was given, the attendants informed the queen, who was fond of her bed, and thus she and the princesses gained perhaps twenty minutes for dressing."

CHAPTER VI.

Administration of Justice.—Constitution of the Courts.—The Fiscalate; its tyrannical proceedings.—Sentence passed by the King on a supposed Socinian.—Arbitrary aggravation of Sentences of the Courts.—Case of Schlubhut.—Privy-Councillor Wilke.—Fate of Hesse.—Case of a tall Musqueteer.—Domestic Theft punished with Death.—A narrow Escape.—Execution of Clement and his Accomplices.—Efforts of Frederick William as Champion of the Protestant Religion.—Sigismund von Unruh.—Persecution of Protestants at Thorn; in the Palatinate; and in Salzburg.—The King invites the Salzburgers to Prussia.—Journey of the Refugees.—Their settlement in Prussia and Lithuania.—The King's Letter respecting the Protestant Orphan-House at Glaucha in Silesia.—His passion for improving his Army.—The Prince of Anhalt.—Obligations of the Prussian Army to him.—Mania of Frederick William for tall Soldiers.—Frequency of Desertion.—Attempts to perpetuate the race of Giants.—Reviews.—Treatment of Soldiers and Officers.—General Reviews.—Tours of Inspection.—Travels abroad.—Visit to the Saxon Camp at Mühlberg.

The state of public justice at this time in Prussia was deplorable, though Frederick William, on his accession to the throne, had used these remarkable words: "The bad administration of justice cries to heaven, and if I do not correct it, I load myself with the responsibility;" by which he proclaimed his serious intention to reform the department of justice, as well as the other branches of administration.

The privy-council of justice formed a division of the privy-council of state, and all current matters were divided among four ministers of justice, partly

according to their objects and partly according to the provinces; and there was this serious evil, that these ministers were at the same time presidents of the tribunals. The highest courts of justice were the Kammergericht, and the High Court of Appeal at Berlin; but appeals were also addressed immediately to the council of state. The courts of justice in the provinces had the title of Regencies.

Among the means of evading justice, one of the most common was to get a petition drawn up by an advocate, and presented to the king by a tall grenadier of the Potsdam regiment of life-guards. Frederick William at length discovered the abuse, and ordered the privy-councillor Cocceji to draw up a mandate prohibiting the transmission of petitions to the king through grenadiers. The minister inquired what penalty should be attached to the offence. The king, who happened to be just then at his easel, painted on the margin of the paper containing the inquiry, a gallows, from which an advocate and a dog were hanging cheek by jowl. An edict was accordingly issued, enacting that any advocate who should dare to transmit a petition immediately to the king through a Potsdam grenadier, should be hanged along with a dog.

Of the officers of justice in general, the king had not the best opinion. A son of the chancellor of Cleves, named Hymmen, solicited the general directory for an appointment. The king wrote the following marginal direction: "Examine whether he

has sense and brains; if he has, put him into the Chamber of the Electoral Mark, and let him work hard there; if he is a stupid fellow, make him a councillor of regency [that is to say, of justice] in Cleves."

To the chambers of war and domains in the provinces were attached councillors of justice to defend the rights of the king against the complaints of his subjects, and here the Exchequer generally lost its cause. In matters of *meum* and *tuum*, however, the king never took it upon him to obstruct the course of justice. A councillor of war had the impudence to advise his majesty to dispose the privy-council of justice more favourably towards the royal interest. The king wrote on the margin,—"Fool, fool, fool, if thou wert not a colonel's son, I would order thee a hundred lashes."

An authority dreaded and detested throughout the whole country was the Fiscalate, originally instituted to superintend the officers of taxes and the administrators of the domains, but which soon acquired a most odious extension. Fiscals were distributed over all the provinces with instructions "to watch over the king's rights, and to report upon all transgressions of the law to the fiscal-general in Berlin." At a time when there were no independent courts of justice, when no sentence was so irrevocable that it might not be arbitrarily set aside, this institution was as dangerous as the Inquisition itself. To make the matter still worse, honest men

were rarely appointed to this obnoxious office, or if they did undertake it, they held it for but a short time. Gerbett, whose name, as fiscal-general, occurs in another part of this work, was sent to Spandau for the falsification of charges and evidence. His successor, Uhde, a man universally respected, took care to check the arbitrary, tyrannical, and at the same time corrupt, proceedings of the fiscals in the provinces. As, however, accused persons very often chose rather to appease the anger of the king by the payment of a certain sum to the recruiting chest, than to bear the brunt of a fiscal process, the king had no wish to put a stop to these accusations. Hence it was mostly persons holding high offices under the crown, or wealthy citizens, who were accused by the fiscals. Thus Baron Geuder, director of the regency at Halberstadt, who lived close to the church, having on a week-day taken his coffee in his own pew with a friend to hear a trial of the organ, the fiscal did not fail to represent him to the king as a desecrator of the temple of God. "The baron," says a contemporary, "did not deem it advisable, on account of the extravagant zeal which Frederick William had often manifested in religious matters, to defend himself against this unexpected charge, but quietly paid the sum of a thousand dollars demanded for himself and his guest, because, as he frequently observed in joke, it was but right that he should bear his friend harmless for his cup of coffee."

Even military men of high rank were not safe from the accusations of the fiscals. Lieutenant-general Wreech of Tamsel had, while taking an oath before the regency of Cüstrin, used an indecorous expression respecting that authority. To avoid a fiscal process, he acknowledged his hastiness to the king, and, as he transmitted at the same time one thousand dollars for the recruiting chest, the charge was quashed. The most trivial circumstances sometimes furnished occasion for such processes. An innkeeper at Cleves had to pay smart for a doggrel rhyme, and an advocate in the New Mark because he had travelled by post without his official collar.

Offences against his own person the king was rather disposed to overlook. Wagner, when fiscal-general, represented to him that on the estate of general Linger there was a minister, who not only used very derogatory expressions concerning his majesty, but also concerning his patron the general; and moreover, that he was a Socinian. The king wrote on the margin: "For what he has said against me I forgive him, and I hope Linger will do the same; but if he is a Socinian, let him be *walled up*." The consistory gave a favourable attestation of the orthodoxy of the preacher, and thus he escaped the threatened punishment.

In matters of civil justice the king rarely interfered, but the sentences in criminal matters, which it was necessary to submit to him for his signature, were often altered and aggravated with arbitrary

cruelty. The melancholy execution of lieutenant Katte, which will be related in its proper place, and that of the councillor of war, Schlubhut, are cases in point. Similar aggravations of sentences were of frequent occurrence; but it must be confessed that no mean or vulgar passion impelled the king's mind in these cases, but solely the determination to let justice take its course. It was not the revenge of oriental despots, not the selfishness of of Roman tyrants, not the religious fury of most Christian and most Catholic kings, that stimulated Frederick William to sign a sentence of death; his motto was: *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus!*

The case of Schlubhut, to which allusion has just been made, is as follows. The king had discovered various defalcations in the administration of his Prussian domains, and especially of the Lithuanian districts, and directed an investigation into the conduct of several officers. Among these was Schlubhut, councillor of war and domains, who was convicted of having abstracted a considerable sum out of the funds assigned for the settlement of the Salzburg refugees. The criminal college in Berlin, to which this matter had been referred, after the inquiry was finished, decided upon several years' confinement in a fortress; for though the sum misappropriated was considerable, and certainly exceeded ten thousand dollars, still Schlubhut had given sufficient security to cover the deficit. When the sentence of the criminal college was submitted to

the king he refused to confirm it, and deferred his decision till he should be on the spot, in his next tour in Prussia. When he arrived at Königsberg in 1731, he summoned Schlubhut before him, reproached him for his transgression, and told him that he had deserved the gallows. Instead of imploring the king's mercy, the delinquent arrogantly replied, that it was not customary to hang a Prussian gentleman, especially when he meant to replace the deficient sum. "I want none of your knavish money," replied the king drily, and ordered him to be taken to the main guard and closely watched. By his command a lofty gallows was erected in the palace-yard, opposite to the sessions-hall of the chamber of war and domains; and he took it upon himself to pronounce an arbitrary sentence of death on the councillor. At Königsberg this proceeding excited a general sensation; for though the prisoner was deemed guilty, still every mind was filled with alarm and indignation to see the sentence of the first court of justice in the country so arbitrarily set aside. The respectable family of the doomed man left no means untried to soften the heart of the king. Hopes were built on the circumstance that the next day was Sunday, when the king would attend divine service at the chapel-royal. The preacher took for his text, "Be ye merciful that ye may find mercy;" and his discourse was chiefly addressed to the king, who was deeply moved, and could not repress his tears. Next morning he sum-

moned the members of the chamber of war and domains to meet in their sessions-hall, and had their colleague tied up before their faces. The body was given to the family, and the gallows immediately destroyed. But though it was sawed down close to the ground and the stump covered, the latter always made its appearance again whenever the king visited Königsberg; and for many years a story was current there that this ominous relic rose, from time to time, like an evil spirit from the earth.

Privy councillor Wilke had taken up the procuring tall recruits as a secondary occupation, by which he had made considerable sums. Gerbett, the fiscal-general, accused him of embezzlement from the tax-chest under his charge. An investigation was set on foot, but, as there was no evidence of malversation, and the profits that he made by the recruiting business were considered as a private matter, the criminal college in Berlin only sentenced him to two years' imprisonment. The king was not satisfied. He sent to the president of the first criminal college a cabinet order to this effect: "Though I should be justified in commanding that rogue Wilke to be hanged, still, out of my royal clemency, I will let mercy take the place of justice." This mercy consisted in his ordering Wilke to be publicly flogged that same morning by the executioner in three different parts of the city, "and then to be sent for life to the infamous hole at Spandau." The criminal court durst not oppose this order of

the king's, which was instantly carried into execution; so that Wilke's wife had not even time to repair to Potsdam to solicit his pardon.

Still more melancholy was the fate of Hesse, receiver-general of taxes in Prussia, who was sentenced by the criminal court to four years' confinement in a fortress, because he was unable to account for four thousand dollars, owing not to any dishonesty, but to irregularity of the books. When the sentence was submitted to the king for his confirmation, he wrote on the margin, "A thief who steals ten dollars must, according to law, be hanged; but Hesse has robbed me of 4000 dollars, so he must hang." He was, accordingly, executed in Berlin; but, on a revision of the case, it was found that several items had been wrongly charged to his account, and that there was no deficiency whatever; but this discovery was made too late.

The king once decided in a directly contrary sense, when the point was to save a tall musqueteer of Dönhoff's regiment from the gallows. This man had been convicted of having a hand in breaking into a house and stealing 6000 dollars, and sentenced to be hanged. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, general Dönhoff went to the king, and represented to him that the court acted most unjustly, inasmuch as it condemned his flugelman to death on account of a few dollars, whereas it had recently acquitted a Prussian councillor of war, who cheated the king out of 30,000. "This

remonstrance," says Benekendorf, who was himself a member of the criminal college, "incensed the king to the highest degree: he immediately ordered the director and councillors of the criminal college to be summoned before him. All these gentlemen were still in their morning gowns, and it was some time before they were fit to make their appearance. This delay increased the king's irritation; and, when apprized that four of them were in attendance, he ordered them to be admitted without waiting for the rest. They found him sitting on his usual deal chair, with a stick in his hand. He commenced by stating very calmly the reason why he had sent for them, but followed up this explanation with the angry question, 'You scoundrels, why have you decided so?' One of them having begun to justify the sentence was cut short by a blow from the king's stick, which knocked out several of his teeth, while the others, with bleeding pates, made a precipitate retreat out of the room and down stairs, to the head of which the king pursued them with his stick." The sentence, in this case, was not executed, though the king was otherwise extremely severe in the punishment of theft. In 1735, on account of the increasing dishonesty of servants, he promulgated an edict against domestic thieves, by which it was enacted, that "every household servant, whether male or female, who should rob his or her employer to the amount of more than three dollars, should be hanged upon a gallows erected before the house in which

the theft was committed." This punishment was first inflicted on a servant of von Happe's, minister of state and war, before whose door the gallows was actually set up and the culprit suspended. From his house the formidable machine moved to that of privy-councillor Truzettel, who had his cook-maid tied up for thieving three dollars twelve "good groschen," about twelve shillings English money. What hearts, I would ask, must such men as these ministers and privy-councillors have had? or rather, could they have had any hearts at all?

Sometimes the sentence of the court was not even waited for, but the king decided the fate of an accused person by an order in his own hand-writing, or by the simple marginal direction, "Shall hang;" and in such cases his illegible scrawl was liable to occasion unlucky mistakes. General Glasenapp, commandant of Berlin, once sent a report to the king at Potsdam, of a disturbance made by the masons and bricklayers employed in building St. Peter's church, because they were required to work on *blue*, or as we should call it, *saint* Monday. The king sent an order, written with his own hand, which the general read thus: "Thou must have Rädel hanged before I come." The only person in Berlin of the name of Rädel that he knew of was a lieutenant. He had him arrested, communicated to him the king's order, and sent a minister to prepare him for death. Directions were given for the execution, when, luckily the commandant chanced

to meet the cabinet councillor Marschall, the only man who could decipher the king's writing with certainty. Marschall, on looking at the order, perceived that what the general had taken for "Rädel früher," [Rädel before] was actually "Rädelsführer," [ringleader]. The lieutenant was immediately liberated; the commandant set about seeking a ringleader from among the men who had been apprehended; and, one of these appearing to him more suspicious than the rest, *on account of his red hair*, he sent him to the gallows.

The execution of one Clement and his accomplices excited a great sensation all over Europe. This man had, by forging the hand-writing of different persons, awakened the king's suspicion that the imperial court and the court of Dresden, in concert with Grumbkow and the prince of Anhalt, had formed a design to carry him off, and to make a catholic of the prince-royal. The king had become so mistrustful of those about him, that he always carried loaded pistols. At length prince Leopold urged him so closely, that he acquainted him with the reason of his melancholy. This led to the discovery of the deception practised by Clement, as well to get money as to play a political part. He was apprehended, and executed on the 18th of April, 1720, agreeably to the sentence of the ministry of justice and the criminal college. The other parties were a baron Heidekamm, Babe, secretary of war, and Lehmann, resident of

the duke of Saxe-Weimar. They were conducted to execution on the appointed day, under a strong escort, to a scaffold erected in the new market place, preceded by the children of the charity-school and the town school, singing hymns; but Heidekamm, on account of his weakness, was carried in an arm-chair. On the scaffold, Clement begged permission to address the assembled multitude, which was granted. When he had finished, the executioner gave the baron two slaps in the face and several blows with a broom, but, by the express command of the king, his back was not uncovered. After his sword had been broken by the executioner and flung at his feet, he was conveyed in a skinner's cart to Spandau. Meanwhile, Clement and Lehmann were obliged to pull off their coats; their shirt sleeves were turned up, and white caps put on their heads. They were afterwards brought down from the scaffold, and each was tied by the arms to a skinner's cart, and their bare arms, as is usual in such cases, were pinched with heated pincers, first under the scaffold, and afterwards at the Spandau gate. As soon as they had ascended the scaffold again, Lehmann was first beheaded, and in the presence of Clement his body was laid upon a table and quartered. Clement was thereupon hanged to the iron gallows, and his body fastened to it with chains. The king had frequently visited Clement during his imprisonment at Spandau, and, on leaving him for the last time, he said, "If I could save thee,

I would immediately make thee a privy councillor; but, as it is, I am unfortunately obliged to let thee be hanged."

The criminal courts were still allowed to have recourse to the torture. Duelling was still punished with death. Women convicted of infanticide, were drowned in a leathern sack, which they were themselves obliged to make. Suicides were refused a decent burial.

If Frederick William I. may be charged with bigotry in matters of religion, and if this zeal did occasionally produce in him a spirit of persecution, as in the case of Wolff, the celebrated philosopher, who, for his metaphysical work, was expelled from the Prussian dominions; still it cannot be denied that this injustice was more than atoned for by the zeal with which he espoused, throughout his whole reign, the cause of the Protestants, when oppressed by their catholic rulers.

We have seen that his grandfather, the Great Elector, had, with generous sympathy, afforded an asylum to the professors of the Protestant religion in foreign countries, when persecuted on account of their faith. Ever since that time, an intimate connexion had subsisted between Protestantism and Prussia, and one served as a support to the other. Frederick William was more deeply sensible of this than his predecessors; and he declared himself the more decidedly the champion of the Protestant church, not from political but from religious motives.

Thus we find him, during his whole reign, taking part in word and deed against the enemies to liberty of conscience, and attached as he was to the emperor, still he did not hesitate to oppose him when he believed the Protestant church to be in danger.

In this position the king of Prussia was placed more especially after the elector of Saxony had renounced that faith for which his forefathers had risked land and life, and sacrificed the glory of the Saxon house for the sake of gaining the venal crown of Poland: and it was against Augustus II., after he had turned catholic, that Frederick William had first to defend the rights of the Protestants. Though the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, guaranteed to the Protestants in Poland the free exercise of their religion and equal rights with the Catholics, still the Protestant church in Poland and Lithuania suffered severe oppression. The Nonconformists—the name given to all who were not Catholics—were persecuted with fanatical fury, not merely by the priesthood, for the people, and even the more polished part of it, had a hand in these persecutions.

The starost Sigismund von Unruh, who had compiled from various works a statement of the grievances alleged against the popes, was convicted by the tribunal of Petrikow in 1715 of blasphemy, and condemned to have his right hand cut off, his tongue torn out, his head struck off, and his property confiscated. This bloody sentence he escaped by flight, and repaired to Berlin, where he claimed the

protection of Frederick William in behalf of his oppressed countrymen: for the diet at Grodno, in 1718, had declared the Dissenters to have forfeited not only their religious but also their civil rights. The king first addressed an earnest remonstrance to the king of Poland; he then exhorted those princes who had undertaken to guarantee the peace of Oliva to adopt energetic steps for maintaining it, and despatched the starost to England with a letter urgently recommending the matter to the attention of George I.

In order to engage the crown of Sweden anew to a joint support of the Protestants, an article in the treaty of Stockholm, in 1720, bound both their majesties to employ all possible means to secure to the professors of the Protestant faith the full enjoyment of their rights and liberty of conscience. But, to enforce respect for these well-meant stipulations, the king lacked the support of his allies, and thus we see him soon afterwards, on occasion of the sanguinary proceedings at Thorn, coming forward alone as the champion of the rights of the Protestants.

The city of Thorn, situated in a portion of the Polish territory which had previously belonged to the Teutonic order, was peopled almost exclusively by German Protestants: the magistracy was composed entirely of Lutherans. Since its incorporation with Poland, the Jesuits had established a school there. A solemn procession, held in July 1724,

gave occasion to a disturbance, which terminated in the storming of the Jesuits' school by the citizens, who had been fired upon from its windows. The Jesuits complained to the crown of this violence, and, after a summary inquiry, the president of the senate and ten respectable citizens were condemned to death. Prince Lubomirsky appeared at the head of 2400 men, caused the unfortunate victims to be executed, imposed a contribution on the city, took the Lady church from the Lutherans, gave it to the Catholics, and introduced Catholic members into the magistracy. The king of Prussia took up with great warmth the cause of the oppressed city, and wrote an energetic letter on the subject to Augustus II. He likewise called upon Peter I., in a letter of the same date, to join him in upholding the treaty of Oliva, and in obtaining redress for the oppressed Protestants in Poland. The affair was brought before the diet of Ratisbon. Augustus delivered through his envoy a defence, in which he stated as an excuse for himself, that, during the sitting of the diet, the marshals and courts of the kingdom acted just as they pleased, without listening to any representations, and that he had no authority to pardon. The universal sympathy for Thorn, which Frederick William excited throughout all Europe, contributed essentially to cause the Protestants there to be treated in the sequel with more indulgence.

But it was not merely among the rude and turbulent Poles, it was also in the heart of the peace-

loving German empire, that the Protestants had to endure manifold oppression and annoyance. At Heidelberg, the residence of the elector of the Palatinate, misunderstandings had long subsisted between the Protestant citizens, and the Catholic court. Both parties performed public worship in the church of the Holy Ghost, the choir of which was occupied by the Catholics, and the nave by the Protestants, a wall separating the one from the other. In 1719, the Catholic confessors of the elector importuned that prince till he issued an order forbidding the Protestants to hold divine service in the church of the Holy Ghost. As the consistory refused to deliver up the keys, the Catholics pulled down the wall, and the Protestants were obliged to yield to force. They had recourse in their distress to the king of Prussia, as the universally acknowledged protector of the Protestant church, who sent an admonitory letter to the elector, expressing his extreme astonishment at his treatment of his Protestant subjects, and declaring that if he should continue to annoy or to extort money from them on account of their religion, he, the king of Prussia, would use all legitimate and suitable means for putting a stop to such proceedings. At the same time he addressed a letter on this subject to the magistracy of Magdeburg, in which, after enumerating the grievances of the Protestants in the Palatinate, he declared that he, jointly with his Britannic Majesty and the elector of Hesse Cassel,

should order all Roman Catholic churches, convents, and institutions in his dominions to be shut up and their revenues sequestrated, till the oppressions on account of religion in the Palatinate should cease, and everything be replaced on its former footing.

As the elector of the Palatinate nevertheless permitted the Catholic clergy to continue to oppress the Protestants, and even went so far as to punish the shoemakers of Heidelberg with military execution, because they refused to contribute to the expences of the feast of St. Crispin, who, as it is well known, stole leather to make shoes for the poor, the king of England also interested himself in behalf of his oppressed fellow-Protestants. The elector, however, found a supporter in the emperor, and therefore all remonstrances proved unavailing, till the king of Prussia put his threat in execution, and sequestrated the revenues of the convent of Hammersleben and of the chapter of the cathedral of Minden, and caused the Catholic churches in different places to be closed.

The efforts of his Prussian majesty in favour of the professors of the Protestant faith in Salzburg were crowned with much more signal success. Here, since 1730, archbishop Firmian, Eleutherius had shut up the churches, and filled the prisons with Protestants, whom he designated as rebels. Many were driven from house and home, and banished from the country. Whole parishes now seceded from the Catholic church; in seven districts 200,000 adherents

to the Augsburg confession demanded the free exercise of their religion, and as this was not granted them, they appealed to the treaty of Westphalia, and declared their determination to emigrate. The archbishop continued to treat the spokesmen as rebels; and these, in consequence, had recourse to the diet at Ratisbon, which intimated to the archbishop that he could not deprive his subjects of the right to quit the country. Being obliged to submit to this decision, he allowed the emigrants so short a time for the sale of their property, that most of them, unable to dispose of it, were turned out destitute in winter with their wives and families. Count Seckendorf, who was at Ratisbon, had acquainted the king with these particulars, and he immediately despatched a person with money to engage some of the emigrants as colonists; at the same time issuing a proclamation, offering them pecuniary assistance during their journey, and all those rights, privileges, and immunities which other colonists enjoyed in his dominions. In consequence of this invitation, upwards of 20,000 Salzburgers successively set out on the long journey to Prussia, in companies of three or four hundred each. The arrival of these emigrants at the towns through which they had to pass was a pleasing and at the same time touching sight. The clergy and the schools everywhere went out to meet them, and conducted them into the towns singing hymns having reference to their lot. Large collections were made for them. They obeyed the com-

mand of the Lord, and left house and home, land and cattle, for his name's sake, complying with the injunction: "Go forth from thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house into a land afar off."

Wherever their route led them to Protestant towns and countries, they found generous and compassionate hearts: thus they met with the most welcome reception in Nürnberg, Bayreuth, Gera, Ottenburg, Leipzig, Halle, and in all the towns of Swabia, Franconia, and Saxony: but it was most cordial at Berlin, where the first company of them arrived on the 30th of April 1732. The king met them at the Leipzig gate, and bade them welcome as his beloved subjects. The queen supplied them with refreshments in her garden at Mon-Bijou, and gave them bibles and money. They were conducted to the church and publicly examined concerning their faith by several clergymen, whom they answered to their entire satisfaction.

On their arrival in Prussia and Lithuania, all possible assistance was afforded to the emigrants, and, as the king wished more to follow them, he had a report published concerning their first settlements, in which it is said: "The tract to which the emigrants have been conducted is a fine, level, fertile country, containing good arable land, productive meadows, rich pastures, and abundance of wood and fish. Several thousands of Salzburgers have already been settled there, and the king is causing more houses to be built, nay whole villages, with churches;

these are already begun and will be finished with all possible expedition. Every one may obtain land, more or less, according to what he thinks he may have occasion for; the king furnishing the necessary stock of cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry, as also carts and the requisite implements of agriculture, or whatever is wanted for housekeeping, free from any charge." All the reasonable desires of the emigrants were complied with as far as possible; and the king was particularly solicitous to promote their spiritual welfare by the foundation of churches and schools.

Encouraged by the continued solicitude of the king, the Salzburgers became accustomed in a few years to their new country, which from a waste was transformed into a flourishing province. They found not there indeed that grand Alpine scenery, that Königssee inclosed with perpendicular rocks, those valleys and waterfalls of the Salza and Gosa, so attractive to the lovers of the beauties of nature; and they were obliged to leave behind them the houses in which they were born, and the lands cultivated by their forefathers. But they found what was to them of more value than any earthly possessions—an asylum where no restraints were imposed upon liberty of thought and of conscience by bigoted priests. All those temporal goods which are dear to man the Salzburgers left behind in their quiet valleys and on their free mountains; they left a mild southern clime for a flat northern region, whose

sovereign had the reputation of being a severe military prince. If the Protestant church can boast of a cheerful resignation to the precepts of the gospel, it is in this example of the emigration of the Salzburgers, whom no longing ever lured back to their native valleys. Grateful posterity have acknowledged the benefit conferred upon their fathers, and, on the hundredth anniversary of that emigration, laid at Gumbinnen the foundation stone upon which has been placed the effigy of their benefactor, Frederick William, executed by the masterly hand of Rauch.

Owing to the manner in which Frederick William was brought up, his written as well as his spoken language was a jargon compounded of High German and Low German, French, and Latin, which set at defiance all the rules of grammar, and betrays such utter disregard of orthography that it is frequently difficult to recognize words under their extraordinary disguise. I subjoin one of the most favourable specimens, which is at the same time an honourable evidence of the benevolent feelings of Frederick William in matters affecting the Protestant religion.

"ich deklarire hiemit, das ich in keine *domestica* von grosse Herren sich mich meliren thue, absonderlich von Ihre Kaiserl. Majestät sachen, da ich zu grossen *Respect* davor habe, aber dieweil es eine gewissenhafte Sache ist, stille zu schweigen, da ich darum ersuchet bin, also überschicke ich diese Bitte [das Schreiben von Franke] an den General-Feld-

marschal Lieutenant Grafen Seckendorf es umb Jesu Willen zu Recommendiren, dass Seine Kaiserl. Maj. Gnade und Barmherzigkeit habe. Seine Majestät *intencion*, bin persuadirt, is guht, aber die Jesuiten sind zuwider, die Vögels, die den Satan Raum geben und sein Reich vermehren wollen.

"Gott gebe seinen Segen und lenke S. Kaiserl. Majestät Herze. Der ich bin, &c.

"Fr. Wilhelm."

Some explanation is necessary to enable the reader to understand this letter. In the year 1719, two pious Protestant ministers, pupils of Herrmann Franke of Halle, founded at Glaucha in the principality of Oels-Bernstadt in Silesia, in concert with the ground landlord J. F. von Kessel, and with the approbation of the prince of Bernstadt, an orphan house and infirmary, after the model of that of Halle. This institution, supported by charitable contributions, became so flourishing that in 1727 it instructed and supported 84 boys, 11 girls, 15 scholars, 12 widows and a number of sick and destitute persons. Fearful lest the pure Protestant faith should again strike root in Silesia, the Catholic clergy of Breslau procured an imperial order, by virtue of which the orphan and poor house was shut up, its inmates were turned out of doors in winter without any provision, the ministers and teacher banished the country, and a fine of 1000 ducats was arbitrarily imposed upon the proprietor of the estate. The managers of the institution in the first place had

recourse to Franke, who transmitted to the king a pathetic memorial, to which he annexed a copy of the imperial order, imploring his majesty to intercede with the emperor in behalf of the institution through count Seckendorf. In his zeal for the Protestant church and for so excellent an institution, the king immediately wrote with his own hand the above letter to Seckendorf, every word of which shows the warm interest that he took in the matter, and of which for the sake of the English reader a translation is subjoined.

"I hereby declare that I never do interfere in the domestic matters of princes, especially in those of his imperial majesty, as I have too great a respect for him; but, as it is a matter of conscience to be silent when I am requested, I send this petition [Franke's Memorial] to General-Fieldmarshal Lieutenant Count Seckendorf, to recommend it for Jesus' sake to his Imperial Majesty to have grace and mercy. His Majesty's intention, I am persuaded, is good, but the Jesuits are against it, those birds who want to give Satan his fling and to extend his kingdom.

"God give his blessing and dispose the heart of his Imperial Majesty. I am, &c.

"Fr. William."

This letter is written on a folio sheet of gray paper. Seckendorf, who could read the king's hand well, was unable to make out this, and sent it to Grumbkow, with a request that he would get it

deciphered by one of his people, as he wished to send it to Vienna by the same day's post. The mercenary favourite sent back a copy of the king's letter, with the observation: "Quel diable de galimathias, cela nous fera crever la cervelle." Seckendorf therefore despatched a copy to the emperor, substituting milder terms for the sally against the Jesuits.

The predominant passion of Frederick William was the improvement and the increase of his army—an object which, as we have seen, occupied his mind even before his accession to the throne, and which his strict attention to the finances enabled him to accomplish. In that department of administration he corrected the errors of his grandfather, paid the debts of his father, and introduced as Thiebault observes, into every branch of it, not merely order, but one may say, the sublime of regularity. In the year 1716 he had augmented his military force to 41,000 men, and at his death it amounted to 76,000.

But though he was fond of soldiers, the king was not fond of war; and during a reign of twenty-seven years he secured for his dominions the benefits of almost uninterrupted peace. The glory to which he aspired was, according to the testimony of his illustrious son, more legitimate than the glory of the conqueror: his grand object was to make his country flourishing, and to apply the revenues of the state to the most useful purposes. He shunned war that he might not be diverted from these beneficial objects,

and thus raised himself imperceptibly to the rank of a first-rate power, without exciting the jealousy of other sovereigns.

In his exertions for the improvement of his army the king was most effectively seconded by prince Leopold of Anhalt, whose character and disposition nearly coincided with his own. Leopold, whose mother was sister to the second wife of the Great Elector, and whose sister married the eldest surviving son of that prince by this union, the margrave of Schwedt, had entered at the age of sixteen into the Prussian service. In 1696 he made his first campaign on the Rhine, commanded the Prussian troops in the battle of Hochstädt, and afterwards distinguished himself in Italy. In 1712 he was promoted to be field-marshal, and became the favourite and adviser of Frederick William on his accession to the throne. In the war with Sweden, Leopold commanded in chief. But it was not so much in the field as in the minor details of the service that this prince laid the foundation of the future fame of the Prussian army. It was he who introduced iron ramrods, who first placed the battalions three men deep, and with infinite pains established among his troops an admirable order and discipline, and produced a precision in movements and manœuvres till then unknown in Europe. A Prussian battalion was a walking battery, whose rapidity in firing increased its effect threefold, and gave the Prussian troops a proportionate advantage over any others. The

prince of Anhalt, though inexorably severe in the maintenance of discipline, was in the strictest sense of the word a father to his soldiers, who followed cheerfully wherever he led, deeming him invulnerable, because he had been merely grazed once in twenty-two engagements and twenty-seven sieges. They called him familiarly the old Dessauer, old Swearer, or old Moustache. How entirely he entered into the spirit of the king is shown by his suffering his own son, Maurice (afterwards field-marshal under the great Frederick) to grow up without any instruction whatever, so that he could not even write his name.

But Frederick William was not merely fond of soldiers—to have men of gigantic stature had become with him a passion, a real mania. He had his spies in all parts of Europe to procure such men for him, either by stratagem or by force, no matter with what cruelty and injustice the acquisition was made. It became a fixed idea with the king that the Almighty had made all tall men expressly for him, and that he had the greater right to them, because other princes were not sensible of their value. The forcible measures pursued by his crimps were frequently attended with bloodshed, and several of them in foreign countries were even doomed by the law to suffer the penalty of death; nay, the king was often in danger of involving himself in hostilities on this account. These unpleasant circumstances had at least this good effect that they induced him to

recommend more humanity to those who were engaged in the business of recruiting in his own dominions.

Though a rigid economist, in the strictest sense of the term, on the point of tall recruits Frederick William grudged no expense. They were loaded with favours, and presented with houses, lands, canonries, and prebends Thus, for one of these giants known by the name of tall Joseph, who appears to have been a monk, the king gave 5000 florins for enlisting, and he had to pay 1500 rix-dollars to the monastery to which he belonged. Andrea Capra, an Italian, cost him 1500 dollars as bounty money to the recruit, and 2000 to the persons who discovered, watched, and carried him off from his own country. But the most expensive of all these tall recruits was James Kirkland, an Irishman, who received for himself 1000*l.* sterling, while the expenses of watching, guarding, and forwarding him from Ireland to Berlin amounted to 200*l.* more. It is of him we presume that Thiebault says, "I have seen the handsomest man of them all, who was called, 'The tall Englishman.' He had been dismissed upon invalid allowance, and set up in business as a grocer in Berlin, where he lived to the age of nearly a hundred years, and was till the last the tallest and best made man in that city. While in Frederick William's tall regiment he had a ducat per month extra pay; others had a crown, others less; but the whole amounted to a considerable sum."

Förster states, that between the years 1713 and 1735 no less a sum than twelve millions of dollars went out of the country for gigantic recruits for the king's regiment of Life Guards. This regiment consisted in 1739 of three battalions, each comprehending six companies of musqueteers and one of grenadiers, forming with the officers a total of about 2500 men. To these were added four "unranged companies," as they were called, each consisting of about 550 men, including officers.

Even in this regiment, which enjoyed particular favours and distinctions, desertion was very frequent; for though the law punished it irremissibly with the gallows, yet the temptation was too strong in Germany on account of the many small states into which the empire was divided. Hence it became a standing joke that a man "had worn the same pair of soles in the service of ten potentates;" and among the petty princes of the empire it might happen that from an army of fifty men and a half there were in the course of a year five hundred deserters, so long as there subsisted no cartel for their mutual delivery. In the king's regiment plots were even formed for escape by force of arms. "In the year 1730," Fassmann tells us, "seventy or eighty grenadiers, mostly Wallachians, Hungarians, and Poles, not thoroughly sensible of the *happy* state in which they lived, entered into a plot for leaving Potsdam. After their design was discovered and they were all arrested, it was found that stupidity had presided

over their scheme, wherefore his majesty, exercising clemency instead of justice, ordered only one of the conspirators to be hanged, and another, after his nose and ears had been cut off, to be sent for life to Spandau. The lives of all the others were spared, only some of them had to run the gauntlet."

Frederick William took it into his head that it might be possible to perpetuate a race of giants in his dominions, and therefore missed no opportunity of marrying his guards to the tallest women he could meet with; but, as the result of these matrimonial experiments is not recorded, I presume that his attempts of this kind to improve the breed were not particularly successful. One of them is related to have occasioned a signal disappointment. On the way from Potsdam to Berlin, the king one day met a young woman of almost gigantic stature, handsome, and well proportioned. He was struck with her appearance, called her to him, and learned that she was a Saxon and unmarried; that she had been marketing at Berlin, and was returning to her own village. "In that case," said the king, "you will have to pass the gate of Potsdam, and if I give you a note for the governor, you can deliver it without going out of your way." The note was written. "Promise me," said the king, "to deliver this note yourself to the governor, and here is a crown for your trouble." The girl gave the required promise: the note and the crown were delivered to her. But, having probably some suspicion of the king's inten-

tions, she would not go into the town, and, finding at the gate a poor and very short old woman, she gave her the crown to deliver the note, begging her to go immediately, as it was from the king and about a matter that did not admit of delay. She then made all haste towards her own home. The old woman, on her part, lost no time in going to the governor, who opened his majesty's note and found a most peremptory order to let the bearer be married on the spot to a certain grenadier who was named. The poor old woman was extremely surprized: she submitted, nevertheless, to the command of his majesty; but it required authority, threats, and promises, to overcome the aversion and resistance of the soldier. It was not till the next day that Frederick William was informed of the trick which had been played him, and that the soldier was inconsolable for his misfortune. All that he could then do was to order the marriage to be dissolved and the parties divorced.

The king's occupations and amusements were governed as regularly by the seasons of the year as by the hours of the day. After spending the winter in Berlin, where the diversions of the court consisted in hunting and sledge-parties, masquerades, assemblies, and puppet-plays, his majesty passed the first months of spring in preference at Potsdam, where the chase served both for occupation and amusement. At the end of May or the beginning of June he returned regularly to Berlin, where he reviewed

the garrison, devoting a day to each regiment. The soldiers appeared in new uniforms, the recruits being distinguished by a spray of oak, the ancient cognizance of the Brandenburgers when in the field. Prince Leopold of Anhalt was fond of decorating himself with this sign of victory*. The generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, were accustomed to kiss the king; but this mark of familiarity was generally confined to the commander of the regiment.

To the soldiers, when everything went on smoothly, the king was most condescending. His usual address to them was: "My son, have you had all that is due to you?" or "How do you like my service?" At such times the men, even in the ranks, might prefer their complaints to him. But as he possessed none of the milder virtues, and had made little progress in the art of curbing his passions, woe betide the unlucky wight who, on the parade or in exercising, had committed any blunder: curses, blows, and kicks, were sure to be his portion. The stick, which he always carried, was in his hand an instrument that struck terror into every one, whether soldier or civilian, who could not give on

* It was first worn by the Brandenburgers in the battle of Warsaw, in 1656, to distinguish them from the Swedes, who fastened wisps of straw to their hats. With the Austrian regiments it is still a usual parade ornament; and, when the Allies entered Paris in 1814, the sensitive Parisians regarded it as an affront that the Hungarian grenadiers had adorned their bear-skin caps with oak-leaves.

the spot a satisfactory account of himself. Even his own children and those about him were not exempt from this kind of discipline. The persons of his court, in order to save themselves from it, devised a conductor to draw off the effects of his wrath. This character was generally enacted by his coachman, who wore a thick elk-skin under his clothes, and was instructed to incense the king in his choleric moments by rude expressions, and thus to divert his indignation from the others to his own person.

As for the commanders of regiments, they had not only to take care that their soldiers were perfect in their exercise and exemplary in their appearance, but also that they had remarkably fine men in the first rank and for recruits to be presented to the king to choose from. If these were wanting, he was ill-humoured, and he once broke a major of Glasenapp's regiment at a special review before the front, because he had no recruits to present to him. I think it extremely probable that there was no better foundation than this fact for a story related by Thiébault, since I find no allusion to it in any other writer. "Frederick William," he says, "met with some adventures which made an impression upon him, and corrected him as far as a sovereign so passionate as he can be corrected. I shall mention one, after which he never struck the officers of his army. Irritated at seeing a manœuvre performed on the parade less perfectly than he wished, he gave a stroke or two with his cane to the major who

commanded. This brave officer, a man in years and highly esteemed in the army, followed the king, drew up his horse before the king's in the middle of the parade, and taking his pistols from the holsters, said: 'Sire, you have dishonoured me, and I must have satisfaction.' At the same instant, he fired one of the pistols over the king's head, saying: 'That is for you;' then pointing the other to his own, added: 'This for myself,' and blew out his brains."

When the special reviews were over, the general review was held. On this day the king was on horseback by two in the morning; he waited for the regiments on the heights of Tempelhoff before the Halle gate, and made them march past him. After the line was formed, he rode along it and then to the centre, where camp-chairs were provided. Here the young princes were stationed, and the king always took care that his pages should bring a basket of slices of bread and butter, which he shared with his children. After this frugal breakfast the exercises began. If the queen was not upon the ground with the princesses, she was accustomed to be at the gate to see the troops march in, "which was very gratifying to the king."

When the reviews at Berlin were finished, his majesty used, so long as his health permitted, to make a tour in the provinces, not only to inspect the other divisions of his army, but also to receive reports from the administration of the domains and of justice, and from the boards of taxes. His tours

were so arranged that he visited all the provinces of his kingdom once in three years, but it was not fixed beforehand what route he should pursue, as he liked to take people by surprize. In this manner he made himself intimately acquainted with the condition and wants of his subjects of all classes, and his everywhere-dreaded visit kept the authorities to the conscientious performance of their duty. The king well knew that he was not always a welcome guest; hence he observed that *he* was the happiest of his subjects, who lived on the extreme verge of his dominions, saw him but once in three years, and could then meet him with a clear conscience. If in these tours he stopped at the houses of official persons, civil or military, he took pot-luck. He desired nothing better than soup and a fowl, pork with cabbage or peas, or a veal cutlet, and butter, cheese, and black bread to conclude with: but cleanliness in everything belonging to the table was indispensable.

The king when he travelled out of his own dominions wished to keep up a strict *incognito*. In 1720, after inspecting the prince-royal's regiment in Pomerania, he proceeded in company with the prince of Anhalt, general Lottum, and a few other officers to Hamburg, in order to taste on the spot the oysters and excellent smoked beef with which that city supplied his kitchen. But he was recognized while viewing the curiosities of the place, and the magistrates hastened to send him a deputation,

which he declined receiving, went next day to Altona, and thence returned to Berlin.

In the various visits which he paid to Dresden he was not allowed to maintain his convenient *incognito*, and indeed Frederick William sometimes thought it right to appear as the king of Prussia when with the ostentatious Augustus. This was more particularly the case when he accepted the invitation to the camp at Mühlberg, and repaired thither in 1730, accompanied by the prince-royal and a retinue of two hundred persons, mostly military officers. Augustus received him half a league from Mühlberg, where he kept breakfast ready for him in a half-open tent, and went twenty paces to meet him. After a hearty welcome, the two kings proceeded to the camp, where quarters were specially provided for them. The dwelling of the Prussian monarch consisted of a pavilion with four entrances, and was surrounded by a wall and ditch. Tall men were picked out to do duty before it, and twenty tents were pitched close by for his retinue. Near it was the pavilion of the king of Poland, surrounded by men in the dress of janissaries, spahis, Cossacks, and other foreign troops, amounting in the whole to 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. The many stalls and booths and the innumerable visitors made the camp look like a vast fair, and the king added public dramatic performances, fire-works, and grand hunting parties to its attractions. Frederick William returned home

highly gratified. He conferred on count Brühl the order of the Black Eagle, gave gold medals of the value of 150 ducats to several gentlemen belonging to the court, and left 30,000 florins to be divided among the officers, and 70,000 for the soldiers.

CHAPTER VII.

Portraits of the Prince of Anhalt and Grumbkow.—Their Intrigues.—Infancy of the Prince-Royal.—His Donation at Tangermünde.—Is placed under Governors.—The King's instructions to them.—Duhan de Jandun, Preceptor to the Prince.—His Studies.—Battalion of Cadets.—Military Promotions of the Prince.—Margrave of Schwedt—Intrigue for marrying him to the Princess Wilhelmine—Mademoiselle von Wagnitz.—Seizure of Trosqui and his Papers.—Madame de Blaspil.—Alleged Plot against the Life of the King and the Prince Royal.

In following this extraordinary sovereign into the details of his domestic life, we cannot find a more trustworthy guide than his eldest daughter, who was herself so painfully involved in the incidents which she narrates, and which are frequently of such a nature as to make us shudder: for the king's own children were treated with a cruelty that none but the lowest and most depraved of men would now be capable of exercising towards their offspring.

It appears that Frederick William had not long been married before his two favourites, the prince of Anhalt and Grumbkow, endeavoured to sow the seeds of disunion between him and his consort. Leopold of Anhalt was one of the most eminent generals of the age. With consummate experience in military matters, he united a genius well fitted for business. His brutal manner—it is the margravine of Bayreuth who sketches these two portraits—excited fear, and his countenance was an index to

his character. His immoderate ambition hurried him into every crime to accomplish his object. He was a faithful friend, but an irreconcileable enemy, and extremely vindictive towards those who were so unfortunate as to offend him. He was cruel and dissembling. He had a cultivated mind, and could be very agreeable in conversation if he pleased.

General Grumbkow might be accounted one of the ablest ministers who had appeared for a long time: he was highly polished, easy and engaging in conversation. With a cultivated, supple, and insinuating mind, he was fond of indulging his talent for satire. He understood how to blend the grave and the gay; but this agreeable outside covered a crafty, selfish, treacherous heart. His conduct was most dissolute: and his whole character was but a tissue of vices, which rendered him an abomination to all the honest and upright.

Such were the two favourites of the prince-royal. Being sworn friends, it may easily be conceived that they were capable enough of corrupting the heart of a young prince, and of throwing a state into confusion. Their plan for keeping the prince-royal under their influence was thwarted by his marriage. Anhalt bore a grudge against the princess, because she had been preferred to his niece; being apprehensive that she would gain the ascendency over her husband, he strove to set them against one another; and, taking advantage of the prince's disposition to jealousy, he endeavoured to make him jealous of his wife. The poor princess suffered a martyrdom from

the violence of her husband, and; in spite of the proofs which she gave of her virtue, nothing but patience could remove the prejudices which had been instilled into him against her.

Before and for some years after his accession to the throne, Frederick William paid a visit annually with his consort to her father in Hanover; and it was proposed on one of these occasions to strengthen the family ties which already subsisted by destining for each other the son of the electoral princess (Frederick duke of Gloucester, and afterwards prince of Wales,) born in 1707, and the daughter of the heir-apparent to the throne of Prussia; and thenceforward the two princesses were continually writing to one another about the future union of their children.

The birth and baptism of the hero of this work in January 1712 have been already recorded. Madame Kamecke, lady of honour to the queen, and Madame de Rocoulle were appointed gouvernante and sub-gouvernante of the infant prince. The latter had performed the like duty for his father; and her firm and noble character and her warm attachment to the royal house of Prussia had so strongly recommended her, that it seemed to be no more than a just acknowledgment to call her again to so honourable an office. She was a native of France, and belonged to that host of Protestants, whom a mistaken religious zeal had expelled from that country, and who found a welcome reception in the dominions of Brandenburg. That a French

woman should be selected as the instructress of a German prince was nothing extraordinary. The Great Elector and both his wives had received a French education, and given the same to their children. French had been ever since the current language at the court of Brandenburg; and hence Frederick William himself never acquired a complete mastery of the German language, notwithstanding his truly German sentiments, and the contempt which he manifested in the later portion of his life for everything foreign. Frederick experienced the same lot. He was initiated from earliest infancy into the French language as his mother tongue, and how faithfully his preceptress fulfilled her duty towards him is sufficiently demonstrated by the attachment which he manifested for her as long as she lived.

Neither state affairs nor war, neither business nor amusement, prevented the king from attending most assiduously to the instruction, the way of living, and the occupations of his children and of the other princes belonging to the royal family. He was more particularly anxious about the prince-royal, in whom he hoped to leave behind, for the state consolidated by him, a sovereign possessing courage and talents to enlarge and to defend his kingdom against all enemies. On undertaking the campaign against Sweden in 1715, he addressed to the privy-council an injunction showing his paternal solicitude for the prince then only three years old. "As I am a man and may die or be shot, I command all and

each of you to take care of Fritz, for which may God reward you; and I give all of you, my wife to begin with, my curse, praying God to punish you in time as well as in eternity, if you do not bury me after my death at Potsdam, in the vault of the church belonging to the palace there. But make no *feasting*, I solemnly charge you; no ceremony, no feasting."

Frederick William had been forced against his will into hostilities with Sweden. In 1713, during the war between Russia, Denmark, and Poland against Sweden, in which Prussia had taken no part, the governor-general of Swedish Pomerania, to prevent that province from falling into the hands of the Russians and Saxons, had concluded a treaty of sequestration with Frederick William, by virtue of which he was put in possession of Stettin and Wismar, in consideration of an advance of 400,000 dollars. The king's intention was to assume the office of mediator between the belligerent powers; but Charles XII., returning from Turkey, insisted on the restitution of Stettin, though he refused to repay the money advanced. In defence of his right, the Prussian monarch took the field; his troops, under the prince of Anhalt, reduced Stralsund and the island of Rügen, and, at the peace of Stockholm in 1720, Prussia obtained Hither Pomerania, as far as the river Peene, Stettin, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin, upon condition of paying to Sweden two millions of dollars.

Among the Swedish officers taken at Stralsund

and sent to Berlin, was one of the name of Croom, who had the reputation of being able to predict the fortunes of persons by the stars and the lines of the hand. The city rang with his prophecies. The queen and the ladies of the court were curious to learn what he would say about them. Being introduced to her, he examined the hands presented to him, and predicted things that afterwards came to pass with surprising accuracy. He told the queen who was then pregnant, that in two months she would be delivered of a daughter; to the eldest princess he said that, along with many deceitful hopes, she would experience all her life many severe afflictions. When the prince-royal was brought to him, he prophesied that in his youth he would have to go through many trials; but in maturer years he would become emperor and one of the greatest princes in Europe. With the exception of the imperial title this prediction was completely verified.

The food and dress of the heir to the crown of Prussia were of the simplest kind. He was kept long in petticoats, and, as he himself said in the last years of his life, he was "brought up on beer-gruel." His constitution was extremely delicate; he was frequently ailing, and his parents, having already lost two infant sons, felt the greater anxiety on his account. The state of his health no doubt affected his disposition and manner. Instead of displaying the liveliness and exuberant spirits which are in general the happy accompaniments of childhood, Frederick was remarkably quiet, dull, and

almost melancholy. In his earliest infancy he conceived the warmest attachment to his sister Wilhelmine, who was two years older than himself, and who shared alike his sports and his studies.

A scene of this period has been perpetuated by the pencil of Pesne, who was then painter to the king. A little drum had been given to the prince, and it was remarked with pleasure that the noisy instrument seemed, contrary to his general humour, to afford him great delight. One day the queen allowed him to beat it in her apartments, where his sister was likewise at play with her toys. Stunned with her brother's drum, she begged him rather to come and help to draw her doll's carriage or to play with her flowers; but the urchin, cheerfully as he used to comply with every wish of his sister's, replied with serious look: "Good drumming is more useful than play, and I like it better than flowers." The king, when this expression of the child's was reported to him, was extremely gratified; regarding it as an indication of a future partiality for the military profession.

The king was fond of amusing himself with his children when they were young, and even taking part in their sports. One day, old general Forcade, entering his apartment unannounced, found him playing at ball with Frederick. "Forcade," said his majesty, "you are a father yourself, and you know that fathers must sometimes play with their children and help to amuse them."

The queen, who had a kind, benevolent, and

generous heart, and was fond of the arts and sciences, sought to impart the like dispositions to her children. She made the little prince at a very early age her almoner, and bestowed her bounty through his hands. The effect of this practice on his infant mind was soon apparent. From the time he was three years old he accompanied their majesties in their annual visit to Hanover. The king usually stopped a few hours at Tangermünde, to confer with the officers superintending the administration of the province. On such occasions, most of the inhabitants of the place would assemble to see the prince-royal, and the queen cheerfully allowed him to go out to them. At one of these visits he begged one of the spectators to take him to a baker's. There he opened his purse, turned out all the pocket-money that he had saved, and desired the baker to give him the worth of it in rolls, biscuits, and cakes. Part of these he took himself, and gave charge of the rest to his attendant. He then turned to the inhabitants, who had followed him in throngs, and with great glee distributed his booty among the children and the aged. His parents, who watched his proceeding from the window of the amt-house, sent for a second supply when the first was gone, in order to prolong the pleasure which the prince took in the distribution. Every year till he was twelve years old, Frederick repeated this donation at Tangermünde, and he took care to save money beforehand for the purpose. The people of Tangermünde called him with exultation *their* prince-royal; and Frederick, after his

accession to the throne, frequently said that there he had felt for the first time the pleasure of being beloved by subjects, and of seeing the tear of gratitude glisten in the eyes of children and aged people.

Hilmar Curas, a German, had given lessons for upwards of twenty years in the French language, when he was engaged to teach Frederick and his sister writing and the rudiments of history. The copy-book in which the prince, under the instruction of Curas, made in 1717 the first attempts at writing, is preserved in the electoral library at Cassel. Other copy-books of his are deposited in the library of the gymnasium of Soest and in that of the Joachimsthal gymnasium in Berlin.

On entering his seventh year, Frederick was removed from the tuition of females. Lieutenant-general the count of Finkenstein and colonel Kalckstein were appointed his governor and sub-governor. Both were men of noble minds and great personal merit. The former had been governor to the king. The sons of these officers and those of the margraves, grandsons of the Great Elector, now became the playmates of the prince royal; and this juvenile intercourse with the young count Finkenstein ripened in after years into a real friendship: as king he appointed him cabinet minister, and honoured him, as long as he lived, with his especial favour and confidence. For his petty expenses the king at first allowed 360 dollars per annum, which sum was afterwards increased to 600; but till the prince was sixteen, he never had any money at his own disposal.

The king gave the two governors circumstantial instructions drawn up by himself for their guidance in the education of his son. As a principal point, he insists that pure Christian piety shall be instilled into the pupil: "and he must," such are the words of this document, "be so instructed concerning the divine omnipotence, as to be always impressed with a holy fear and veneration of God, for this is the only means of keeping the sovereign power, exempt from human laws and punishments, within due bounds." In the next place, the prince is to be taught to respect, esteem, and obey his parents. "But," adds the king, "as too great fear can produce no other than a slavish love and obedience, the governor and sub-governor shall use their best endeavours to make my son comprehend that he is not to have any such fear, but a true love and perfect confidence towards me, and then he shall find a return of the like love and confidence from me." The strictest attention to morals is everywhere inculcated: and the governors are charged to counteract, to the utmost of their power, pride and arrogance, if these should manifest themselves, and likewise the suggestions of flattery. On the other hand, the prince must be early accustomed to humility, temperance, frugality, order, and persevering diligence. As for the sciences, the instructions are confined exclusively to the practically useful branches of knowledge. The prince is not to learn Latin; on the other hand, he is to be taught to write well in French and German. In history, particular regard

is to be paid to the events of the last one hundred and fifty years, but especially to the history of the house of Brandenburg and of the houses with which it was most intimately connected, as England, Brunswick, and Hesse. But, above all, the governors were directed to excite in their pupil a genuine love for the military profession, and to impress upon him that, "as nothing in the world but the sword can confer honour and glory on a prince, he would be despised by the whole world if he did not love it and seek in it his only glory."

The scientific part of the prince's education was conducted by Duhan de Jandun, the son of a French refugee, who had brought him as a child to Berlin, and whom the king met with in 1715 in the trenches before Stralsund, as tutor to the son of field-marshal count Dohna. Frederick William was pleased with such a military preceptor, and immediately engaged him for the prince, though he was not to enter upon the duties of this office for three years. This instructor was also furnished by the king with "Regulations for the Studies of my eldest son Frederick, at Wusterhausen." which is a curious monument of strict attention paid by him to the minutest details in his instructions of every kind. Not only are the hours for each lesson throughout the week marked out with the utmost exactness, but even the time to be occupied in washing, dressing, prayers, and the manner in which every act, however indifferent, shall be performed, are particularly specified. The very prayer which he is

required to say upon his knees the moment he is out of bed, "and that aloud, so that all who are in the room may hear," is set down for him. His governors are directed to accustom him to dress and undress "as speedily as is humanly possible," and also "to see that he learns to dress and undress himself, and that he is neat and clean, and not so dirty."

By this preceptor Frederick seems to have been early accustomed to read for himself and to think. To him, too, he owed his acquaintance with history and with French literature. German literature was at this time in the very lowest state of decline, while that of France had just attained the pinnacle of prosperity. Frederick's mind was improved by the study of the best models of the latter; and, as he had acquired in the society of Madame de Roucoulle greater fluency in French than in his mother tongue, so he owed to Duhan the predilection which he ever afterwards manifested for the works of the people with whose language he was best acquainted. Though he laboured, and with complete success, to acquire a good style in writing that language, still it is a singular fact that Frederick never could learn to write it orthographically.

Latin, as it has been observed, was forbidden by the king's instructions: but Frederick himself admitted in later years that in his youth he had had a Latin master, whether with the king's permission or not, I cannot say. One day, when this master had made him translate a passage from the law of the empire, called the Golden Bull, the king came in.

Hearing some Latin words, he said to the man, "What are you about, fellow, with my son?" "Your majesty, I am explaining to him the *aurea Bulla*." The king, lifting up his cane, rejoined, "I'll aurea Bulla you, you scoundrel," drove him away, and put an end to the Latin lessons. Hence, though Frederick was fond of quoting scraps of Latin both in conversation and in writing, they only served to prove his very imperfect acquaintance with the language.

Frederick himself applied to M. Naudé, professor at the Joachimsthal gymnasium in Berlin, to give him instruction in algebra. The professor, considering the difficulty of presenting that dry science in a comprehensible and pleasing form, drew up a concise "Guide to Algebra," and handed it over to the prince, who was pleased with the performance. Recollecting the circumstance, Frederick, after his accession to the throne, assigned to Naudé a pension of 600 dollars.

In music Frederick received instruction on the harpsichord from M. Heine, organist of the cathedral at Berlin, but the king allowed him to learn only psalm tunes, for which purpose he gave his son on Christmas eve 1717, the Berlin edition of Jablonski's hymn-book. From a list on a blank leaf of this hymn-book, which is bound in red morocco, Frederick appears to have been particularly fond of playing the 1st, 2nd, 16th, 19th, 22nd, and 24th psalms. Heine exercised him diligently on the instrument and in thorough-bass; but subsequently Frederick aban-

doned the harpsichord for the flute. "The ordinary thorough-bass," said the prince once to Quantz, "I could comprehend well enough, but the plaguy modes plagued me sadly." "They are not the mode now," replied Quantz.

The name of Frederick's instructor in drawing and painting is not recorded. He appears to have possessed talent for both these branches of the art. He could express ideas in architecture and the military sciences very readily with the pencil, and in the apartments subsequently occupied by his consort in the palace at Berlin is still to be seen a portrait of himself painted by him in his youth.

The king was particularly solicitous that his son should be an orthodox Christian, agreeably to his own notions of religion, and appointed two of his chaplains, Andreä and Noltenius, to give him the necessary instruction. Their success, even in regard to the mere acquisition of knowledge, does not appear to have been great; for his governors, when informed that he was to be confirmed, intimated to the king that "for the preceding eight months he had not profited much by the instructions in Christianity." Neither is this surprising, when we know that the king required him to get everything by heart; and when he had not been diligent, or committed any fault, gave him long hymns and passages in the Bible to learn by way of task. Hence Frederick was better acquainted with the sacred volume than many a divine, and was remarkably apt at quoting texts from it. This kind of instruction

had no doubt a decisive effect on his religious sentiments in after life, and produced that distaste for external forms and ordinances, which gained him the character of a free-thinker. Frederick, having been prepared for confirmation by Noltenius, after being publicly examined before the whole congregation in the cathedral of Berlin, like any other youth, made his confession of faith, and received the sacrament.

In order to inspire his son early with a fondness for the military profession, the king formed in the autumn of 1717 a company of cadets, out of those kept ever since his father's time in Berlin, Magdeburg, and Colberg. Their number, at first 110, was gradually increased to 236, and in 1726 they received the appellation of the Prince Royal's Battalion of Noble Cadets. Here Frederick was instructed in the military exercise by von Rentzell, a subaltern a few years older than himself, who possessed other qualities, in his fondness for music and for the flute, which rendered him an agreeable companion to the prince-royal. The latter, when twelve years old, had attained such proficiency in the military art, that he could exercise his little troop to the great satisfaction of his grandfather, George I. of England, when, on a visit to Berlin, and confined by indisposition to his apartment, he watched the manœuvres from his window. Frederick, we are told, was not exempted from any of the duties of his corps, and was frequently obliged to stand sentry before the

palace, with his musquet and cartouch-box, like any private soldier.

The king strove in other ways to inspire his son with an interest for the military profession Thus he had a large room in the palace at Berlin fitted up as an armoury, with all the implements of war, the uses of which the prince learned as a pastime. At fourteen he was promoted to be captain, at fifteen major, at sixteen lieutenant-colonel; and in these ranks he had to do the same regular duty as any other officer. From the age of twelve years he had, moreover, to accompany the king to the reviews and in his hunting parties.

The margravine of Bayreuth furnishes in her Memoirs incidental glimpses of her brother during his boyhood, together with many striking pictures of the extraordinary scenes then passing at the Prussian court. "My brother," says this princess, "was of a very weakly constitution; his silent humour and his dulness excited alarm; while his frequent fits of illness began to revive the hopes of the prince of Anhalt. To strengthen his influence he persuaded the king to marry me to his nephew, son of the deceased margrave Philip, cousin-german to the king, who would be the first prince of the blood and presumptive heir to the crown, in case of the extinction of the royal line. In this latter case all the allodial possessions would devolve to me. As the king had but one son, the prince of Anhalt, supported by Grumbkow, represented to him that

policy required him to give me to his cousin, the margrave of Schwedt; that my brother's delicate health afforded but little ground to reckon upon his living; that the queen began to grow so corpulent, that it was to be feared she would have no more children; that the king ought to think beforehand of keeping together his dominions, which would be dismembered if I married any other person; and lastly, that, if he had the misfortune to lose my brother, his son-in-law and successor would stand him instead of a son.

"For some time, the king gave them only vague answers; but at length they took occasion to draw him into some of their drinking parties, where, when flushed with wine, they obtained all they desired: it was even agreed that the margrave of Schwedt should have a right to come to see me when he pleased, and that all sorts of means should be used to excite in the young people a mutual liking for each other. Letti [the sub-governess of the princess], gained by the Anhalt party, was incessantly talking to me about the margrave, and praising him, always adding, that some day he would be a great king, and that I could not do a better thing for myself than to marry him.

"This prince, born in 1700, was very tall for his age. He had a fine face, but yet his countenance was not prepossessing. Though but fifteen, his malicious character already manifested itself. He was brutal and cruel, and had rude manners and low propensities. I had a natural antipathy for him,

and I tried to play him tricks and to frighten him, for he was a coward*. Letti would not permit any raillery on this subject, and punished me severely. The queen, ignorant of the object of the prince's visits, allowed them the more readily, inasmuch as I received those of the other princes of the blood, and they were of no consequence at an age so tender as mine. In spite of all their efforts, the two favourites had not yet contrived to excite misunderstanding between the king and queen; but, though the king doted on his wife, he could not help ill-using her, and he would not suffer her to take any part in public business, saying: 'Women must be kept under the ferule, or they will dance upon their husbands' heads.'

"It was not long, however, before she heard of the scheme of my marriage. The king imparted it to her. She was thunderstruck. It is right that I should give some idea of her character and person. The queen was never handsome; her features were marked, and none of them was good. Her complexion was fair, her hair dark brown, her figure one of the finest in the world; her noble and majestic carriage commanded respect from all who saw her: accomplished manners and a brilliant understanding seemed to promise more solidity than she possessed. She had a good, generous, and benevolent heart, and was fond of the fine arts and sciences, without

* Is this conduct consistent with the age of the princess, who, if the margrave, born in 1700, was then no more than fifteen, could herself be but six years old?

much addicting herself to any of them. All have their faults, and she was not exempt from them. All the haughtiness and pride of the house of Hanover were concentrated in her person. Her ambition was extreme; she was jealous to excess, of a suspicious and vindictive temper, and never forgave those who had, as she thought, offended her.

"She had deeply at heart the alliance which she had planned with England, through the union of her children, flattering herself that she should gradually establish her ascendency over the king. Her other object was to gain a powerful protection against the persecutions of the prince of Anhalt; and lastly, to obtain the guardianship of my brother, in case of the death of the king, who was frequently ill, and who, the queen was assured, could not live long."

Her majesty had among her ladies a Mademoiselle Wagnitz, who was at that time her favourite. Her mother, gouvernante of the margravine Albert, the king's aunt, disguised the most scandalous conduct under the appearance of devotion; prostituting herself and her daughters to the king's favourites, and to persons connected with public affairs, and gaining, through their means, a knowledge of state secrets, which she immediately sold to count Rothenburg, minister of France.

In order to attain her ends, Madame Wagnitz associated with herself M. Kreutz, a favourite of the king's. This man, the son of a bailiff, from being auditor of a regiment had risen to be director of the finances and minister of state. His soul was

as base as his birth: it was an assemblage of vices. Though his character was very like Grumbkow's, they were sworn foes, being reciprocally jealous of each other's influence. Kreutz was in high favour with the king, on account of the pains which he took to increase his revenues at the expense of his poor subjects. He was delighted with the scheme of Madame Wagnitz: it was conformable with his own views. In giving the king a mistress, he should gain another supporter, and by these means he might destroy Grumbkow's influence, and gain an undivided ascendency over the king's mind. He undertook to teach the future sultana how to act in order to succeed. Various interviews which he had with her inspired him with a violent passion for that female. He was very rich, and the magnificent presents which he made her soon disarmed her cruelty: she gave herself up to him, without, however, losing sight of her first plan.

Kreutz had secret emissaries about the king. These wretches endeavoured by remarks seasonably thrown out to make him disgusted with the queen. They even extolled the beauty of Wagnitz, and never missed any opportunity of descanting on the happiness of that man who should possess so enchanting a creature. Grumbkow, who had spies everywhere, was not long uninformed of these intrigues. He would have liked the king to keep mistresses, but he would have liked to find them for him himself. He resolved, therefore, to break up this whole intrigue, and to employ the same wea-

pons by which Kreutz meant to ruin him. Wagnitz was beautiful as an angel, but her understanding was shallow. Ill-bred, her heart was as bad as her mother's, and to this she added an insupportable pride; while her venomous tongue mercilessly slandered all who had the misfortune to displease her. Hence it may be inferred that she had no friends.

Grumbkow had her watched and learned that she held long conferences with Kreutz, and that apparently they were not always upon state affairs. To gain positive information on this point, he employed a scullion whom he deemed clever enough for the part which he was to play. He chose the interval when the king and queen were gone to Stralsund for the execution of his scheme. One night, after all had retired to rest, a tremendous noise arose in the palace. Everybody jumped out of bed, conceiving that the building was on fire: but they were astonished to learn that a spectre was the cause of all this uproar. The sentinels posted before the apartments of the prince-royal and his sister were half dead with fright, and declared that they saw the spectre pass along a gallery which led to the queen's ladies. The officer on duty first doubled the posts before their chambers, and then searched the whole palace without finding anything. The spirit, however, again made its appearance as soon as he had retired, and terrified the sentinels to such a degree that they fainted. They said that it was "the great devil, sent by the Swedish sorcerers to kill the prince-royal."

Next day the whole city was in an uproar. It was apprehended to be some plot of the Swedes, who, with the assistance of this spirit, might even set fire to the palace, and endeavour to carry off the princess and her brother. Every precaution necessary for their safety and for catching the spectre was therefore adopted. It was not till the third night that the pretended devil was caught. Grumbkow, by his influence, found means to get creatures of his own appointed to examine him; he represented it to the king as a frolic, and induced his master, who was for punishing the fellow severely, to order him to be drawn through the streets for three successive days on the wooden ass in all his ghostly paraphernalia. Meanwhile Grumbkow ascertained through this pretended devil all that he wanted to know, namely, the nocturnal interviews between Kreutz and Wagnitz. Moreover, the waiting-woman of the latter, whom he bribed, informed him that her mistress had already miscarried, and that she was at this time pregnant; and he awaited the return of the king to Berlin to acquaint him with this scandalous affair.

The king flew into a violent passion with the lady: he was for expelling her immediately from the court; but the queen, by her solicitations, prevailed upon him to allow her to stay a little longer, till some pretext could be found for dismissing her with a good grace. It was with great difficulty that she obtained this respite: but the king insisted that the queen should signify her dismissal to her that very day. He related to her all the intrigues of that female, and

the manœuvres which she had employed to become his mistress. The queen sent for her. She had a fondness for her which she could not overcome. She spoke to her in the presence of Madame de Roucoulle, who would not leave her in her then condition, for she was pregnant. She showed her the king's order, and repeated all that he had said. "You must submit to the king's will," she added. "In three months I shall be confined. If I give birth to a boy, the first thing I shall do will be to solicit your pardon." Wagnitz, instead of being thankful for the queen's kindness, could scarcely give her time to finish speaking, and then plumply declared that she had powerful protectors to defend her.

The queen would have replied, but the insolent creature flew into the most vehement passion, and vented a thousand imprecations against her majesty and the child with which she was pregnant. Such was her rage that it threw her into convulsions. The queen was much frightened, and Madame de Roucoulle led her away. Her majesty would not acquaint the king with all that had passed, still hoping to be able to soften him: but Wagnitz herself thwarted these kind intentions. Next day she caused a bitter pasquinade against the king and queen to be posted about the city. The author was soon discovered. The king, who would not put up with any more of her insolence, caused her to be ignominiously turned out of the court. Her mother soon followed her. Grumbkow informed the king of the intrigues of the latter with the minister of

France. She was fortunate in getting off with banishment and not being shut up for life in a fortress. Kreutz kept his place in the king's favour notwithstanding all the pains that his antagonist had taken to effect his ruin.

"At this time," continues the margravine, "I was but eight years old. I was engaged every day with my teachers, and my only recreation was to see my brother. Never did affection surpass ours. He was clever, but dull; he thought long before he gave an answer, but to make amends that answer was to the point. It was with great difficulty that he learned anything, and it was expected that in time he would have more good sense than brilliancy. I was, on the contrary, very lively, ready at reply, and had an excellent memory. The king doted upon me; he never took so much notice of any of his other children as of me. My brother, on the contrary, was hateful to him, and never appeared in his presence without some ill usage or other: this produced on him an invincible dread of his father, which he had not conquered even when he had arrived at the age of reason."

The margravine assures us that the king was at this time much delighted with the exhibitions of a company of rope-dancers at Berlin, and that on his habit of attending them was founded a plot for murdering both him and the prince-royal, and for transferring the crown to the young margrave of Schwedt.

"A Silesian gentleman," relates the princess, "whose name was Trosqui, and who had acted as a

spy in the Swedish camp at Stralsund, was afterwards accused of having played the same part in Berlin. His papers were seized. They contained all the amorous anecdotes of the court, which he had satirized in the most cutting manner, and a great quantity of letters from several ladies in Berlin, in which the king was not spared. Some of them were from Madame de Blaspil, who had succeeded Mademoiselle von Wagnitz in the appointment which she held about the queen, as well as in her majesty's favour. She called him a horrid tyrant and other equally severe names. Grumbkow, who was appointed to examine these papers, seized this opportunity to ruin that lady, to whom he owed a grudge, because she would not purloin for him a will which the king had made and committed to the custody of the queen. He had communicated to her something of his plans, in hopes of gaining her over to his party and obtaining possession of the will. Madame de Blaspil, who had penetrated his designs, amused him with false promises to draw forth his secrets. Not having sufficient proofs against him, she durst not discover them to the king. Grumbkow, having laid before the king her letters addressed to Trosqui, and prepossessed him against her, the king sent for her, and, after saying some very harsh things, produced the fatal letters. Not at all disconcerted at the sight of them, she took occasion to reproach him with all his failings, adding that, notwithstanding what she had written about him, she was more attached to him than any

body else was, being the only person who had the boldness to speak to him with frankness and sincerity. Her forcible and spirited language made an impression upon the king. After considering for some time, 'I forgive you,' said he, 'and I am obliged to you for acting in this way; you have convinced me that you are my real friend, by telling me truths: let us both forget what is past and be friends.' Then taking her by the hand, he conducted her to the queen's apartments. 'Here,' said he, 'is an honest woman, for whom I have a very great esteem.' Madame de Blaspil, however, was not easy; she was acquainted with all the circumstances of the horrid plot which Grumbkow and the prince of Anhalt were hatching against the king and my brother. She saw that it was on the point of breaking out, but knew not what to do, as there was a manifest danger either in speaking or being silent: but it is time to unveil that frightful mystery. The views of these partners in iniquity aimed at nothing less than to place the margrave of Schwedt on the throne, and get the government entirely into their own hands.

"The health of the king and the prince-royal improved from day to day and dispelled all the flattering hopes which they had cherished of their speedy decease. They resolved, therefore, to accomplish their ends. The affair was delicate, and they only waited for a favourable occasion to carry their infamous design into execution. An occasion as favourable as they could desire soon occurred

There had been for some time in Berlin a troop of rope-dancers, who performed German comedies in a pretty theatre erected in the new market-place. The king took great delight in such exhibitions and never failed to attend them. This was the place which they chose for the scene of their detestable tragedy. They meant to persuade the king to take the prince-royal along with him, that they might be able to sacrifice both to their abominable ambition. The theatre and the palace were to be set on fire at once, in order to divert all suspicion from them, and the king and his son strangled during the confusion that the conflagration would necessarily produce, because the house was only of wood, had very narrow outlets, and was always crowded to such excess that it was impossible to stir—circumstances that would have facilitated their design. Their party was so strong that they were sure to get possession of the regency during the absence of the margrave of Schwedt, who was still in Italy, the army being at the disposal of the prince of Anhalt, its commander, who was much beloved by it. It is to be presumed that Count Manteuffel, feeling a horror of this atrocious conspiracy, revealed it to Madame de Blaspil [with whom he was more than intimate] and mentioned to her the day which was fixed for its execution. Anhalt and Grumbkow strongly urged the king to take the prince with him to the play, alleging that it would divert him and raise his spirits. This was Wednesday; the following Friday was fixed for the execution of their plan.

The king approved their advice. Madame de Blaspil, who was present, and knew their intentions, shuddered. Unable to keep silence any longer, she alarmed the queen, without, however, informing her of the circumstances, and intreated her at all events not to let the prince go with the king. Knowing the timid disposition of the former, she described the play in such a manner that he was quite frightened, and cried whenever it was talked of.

"Friday having at length arrived, the queen after a thousand caresses, desired me," continues her daughter, "to amuse the king with a view to make him forget the hour fixed for the play, adding that if I could not succeed, and the king was determined to take my brother with him, I should shout, cry, and stop him if possible. To produce the greater impression upon me, she told me that my own and my brother's life depended upon this. I played my part so well that it was half-past six before the king was aware of it: all at once recollecting himself, he rose, and was already proceeding towards the door, holding my brother by the hand, when the latter began to struggle and to cry violently. The king, astonished at his opposition, began to coax him; but finding that this had no effect and that the poor boy would not go with him; he was going to beat him. The queen prevented this, but the king, taking him up in his arms, would have carried him away by force. I then threw myself at his feet, which I kissed and bathed with tears. The queen placed herself against the door, conjuring him to stay at home that day.

The king, astonished at this strange procedure, insisted on knowing the cause of it.

"The queen knew not what to say: but her husband, naturally jealous, conjectured that there was some conspiracy against him. Having, therefore, pressed her very urgently to tell him what was the matter, she merely replied, without any mention of Madame de Blaspil, that his life and that of my brother were in danger. That lady, having gone in the evening to the queen, thought that, after the scene which had taken place, she could no longer keep silence. She disclosed to her the whole plot, entreating that she would obtain her a secret audience of the king on the following day. This the queen had no difficulty to do. She communicated to the king all the particulars with which she was acquainted. The king asked if she would maintain to Grumbkow's face what she had advanced; she replied she would, and that minister was sent for. He had taken his measures so cautiously that he had not much reason to be afraid. The fiscal general, Katsch, a man of obscure birth, owed his fortune to him. Worthy of Grumbkow's protection, he was the living image of the unjust judge of the gospel. He was dreaded and detested by all honest men. Grumbkow had many other creatures of his own in the department of justice. He went boldly before the king, who communicated to him the deposition of Madame de Blaspil. He protested his innocence, declaring that it was impossible to be a faithful minister without being exposed to per-

secutions, and that it was evident from Madame de Blaspil's letters to Trosqui that she was bent on intriguing and embroiling the court. He fell on his knees before the king, beseeching him to investigate this affair in the strictest manner, and offered to furnish authentic proof of the falsehood of the accusations. The king accordingly sent for Katsch, as Grumbkow had foreseen. But, in spite of all his excuses, the latter was within an inch of ruin. Katsch contrived to prevent it: he had an extraordinary dexterity in browbeating the criminals who were so unfortunate as to have him for their judge. He confounded them with captious questions and quirks. To these Madame de Blaspil fell a victim. She could not furnish evidence of her charges which were treated as calumnies. Katsch, seeing the king in a violent rage, proposed to put her to the torture. A remnant of respect for her sex and rank saved her from this ignominy. The king contented himself with sending her the same evening to Spandau, whither Trosqui followed in a few days.

"This lady sustained her misfortune with heroic firmness. At first she was treated with great harshness. Shut up in a damp room, having iron bars to the windows, without bed and without furniture, she was left three days in this state, supplied with only just sufficient to support life. Though the queen was pregnant, the king did not spare her, and acquainted her in a very rough manner with the misfortune of her favourite. She was so affected by it that it was feared she would

miscarry. Besides her friendship for Madame de Blaspil, the consideration of the king's will, with which she had entrusted her and which she had not returned, gave her extreme alarm. A lucky incident relieved her from this perplexity. Marshal Natzmer, a man of extraordinary merit and acknowledged probity, received orders to put seals upon her effects. The queen acquainted him through the medium of her chaplain, with her apprehensions, and implored him to send her back the will. The chaplain explained the risk which that princess would run if the documents were found, and performed his errand so well that the marshal promised to comply with the queen's request. Nothing suspicious was found among the papers and no further search was made.

"All the particulars that I have here given," adds the princess, "I learned from the queen, my mother: they are known to but very few persons. The queen took great care to conceal them, and my brother, since his accession to the crown, has caused all the documents connected with the proceedings to be burned. Madame de Blaspil was released at the expiration of a year, and her imprisonment was changed to exile in the country of Cleves. The king saw her again some years afterwards, was very polite to her, and pardoned her for the past. After his death, my brother, to please the queen, gave her the appointment of gouvernante to my two younger sisters."

It is right to add to this narrative, that the

charge preferred in it against the prince of Anhalt and Grumbkow, though apparently resting on good authority, is pronounced by Dr. Preuss, in his elaborate biography of the great Frederick, published a few years since, to be wholly unfounded. I think it extremely probable that the story of a conspiracy may have originated in the fallacious revelations of Clement, whose case and execution are noticed in a preceding chapter. But, though the princess may have been under an erroneous impression on this point, I see no reason to doubt her veracity in regard to those incidents which she relates either as an actor or an eye-witness.

CHAPTER VIII.

Visit of the Czar Peter.—His Empress and Court.—Visit of George I.—Duchess of Kendal.—Princess of Wales.—Lady Arlington.—Quarrel between the Prince of Anhalt and Grumbkow.—Character of Frederick William and the Prince Royal, by Seckendorf.—Discordance of the Tastes of the King and the Prince.—Characteristic Letter of the King's.—Misunderstanding between the Courts of Hanover and Prussia.—Seckendorf's arrival in Berlin as imperial ambassador.—Influence acquired by him.—His Report of the state of affairs at the Prussian Court.

When illustrious visiters came to Berlin, the king was anxious to display in every respect a truly royal magnificence. The czar Peter, who passed almost every year through the Prussian dominions, was an expensive guest. At his visit in 1717 the king offered him apartments in the palace, but Peter, fearing that his people would destroy every thing there, declined it, and occupied the queen's pleasure-house of Mon-Bijou. Though it has been remarked that Frederick William when prince-royal took the czar for his model, yet, in regard to polish, there was a wide gulf between them. Even after Peter had made himself more familiar with European manners, and though he had now just come from Paris and Versailles, he still exhibited proofs of his original barbarism. As the king had ordered all possible honours to be shown to the czar, the different boards of administration went in a body to pay him their respects. The presidents were the spokesmen.

When M. von Cocceji, with the other councillors, waited upon him, they found him leaning upon two Russian ladies, with whose bare bosoms he kept toying with his fingers during the audience, so as nearly to put the speaker out of countenance. I dare not transcribe another circumstance related by Pöllnitz, concerning Peter's niece, the duchess of Mecklenburg, who with her husband went to Magdeburg to meet and to accompany him to Berlin. This brutal lust, continues the writer just named, was not the only vice of Peter the Great. Not a day passed on which he was not completely intoxicated. His cruel treatment of his attendants, and especially of his confessor, who was at the same time his fool, had no bounds. The czar would kiss his hand respectfully on going away from mass, and next moment give him fillips on the nose, beat him, and use him like the meanest slave. The unfortunate princess Galitzin, who, on account of her participation in a conspiracy, had been subjected to the knout, so that she had lost her reason, was in this state obliged to contribute to his amusement at table. Whatever he left upon his plate he was accustomed to fling at her head; and she was often obliged to rise and come to him to receive fillips on the nose. Riding with the king through Berlin, he saw the gallows in the new market-place, and enquired what sort of machine that was. When the king had explained its use to him, he was so curious to see an execution that he earnestly begged to be gratified with the amusement immediately.

The king assured him that there was at that moment no candidate for the gallows. "What need to be particular?" rejoined the czar; "here are people enough; take the first that comes." The king replied that none but criminals could be hanged, on which the czar insisted that the experiment should be made on one of his own retinue, and the king had great difficulty to dissuade from the design.

Of this visit of the czar's the margravine of Bayreuth furnishes in her Memoirs some additional particulars, which, with the picture that she draws of this celebrated monarch, his empress, and his court, are too curious to be omitted here. "This prince," she says, "who took great pleasure in travelling, came from Holland. He was obliged to stop in the country of Cleves, the czarina having miscarried. As he disliked company and ceremony, he begged the king to lodge him in a villa of the queen's in the suburbs of Berlin. That princess was much vexed: she had built herself a very pretty house, and fitted it up magnificently. The porcelain gallery there was superb, as well as all the rooms, adorned with mirrors; and, as the house was a real jewel, she had given it the name of Mon-Bijou. The garden was very handsome, and bounded by the river, which added much to its pleasantness.

"The queen, in order to prevent that havoc which the Russians had made in every other place where they had lodged, caused the whole house to be disfurnished, and everything most fragile to be

removed. Some days afterwards, the czar, his wife, and their whole court arrived by water at Mon-Bijou. The king and queen received them on the bank of the river. The king gave his hand to the czarina to conduct her to land. As soon as the czar had landed, he held out his hand to the king, saying: 'Brother Frederick, I am very glad to see you.' He then went up to the queen and would have kissed her, but she would not let him. The first thing the czarina did was to kiss the queen's hand, which she did several times. She then presented to her the duke and duchess of Mecklenburg, who had accompanied them, and four hundred *ladies*, as they were called, of their retinue. These were mostly German servant wenches, who performed the duties of ladies in waiting, bed-chamber women, cooks, and washerwomen. Almost all these creatures had each an infant richly dressed in her arms; and, when asked if they were their own, they replied, making obeisances in the Russian fashion: 'The czar did me the honour to help me to this child.' The queen would not salute these creatures. The czarina, to be even with her, treated the princesses of the blood with great disdain; and it was not without much difficulty that the king prevailed upon the queen to salute them.

"I saw this whole court on the following day, when the czar and his wife came to pay the queen a visit. She received them in the state apartments of the palace, and went as far as the hall of the guards to meet them. She gave her hand to the czarina,

placing her on her right, and conducted her to the audience chamber. The king and the czar followed. The latter, as soon as he set eyes on me, knew me again, having seen me five years before. He lifted me up in his arms and kissed me so roughly that he almost took the skin off my face. I slapped him and struggled as much as I could, telling him that I did not like such familiarities and that he dishonoured me. He laughed heartily at this idea, and chatted with me a long time. I had been taught my lesson; so I talked to him about his fleet and his conquests, which delighted him to such a degree that he said several times to the czarina that he would gladly give one of his provinces to have such a girl as I was. The czarina also caressed me much. The queen and she were seated under the canopy, each in an arm-chair: I was at the queen's side, and the princesses of the blood opposite to her.

"The czarina was short and stout, much tanned, and had neither air nor grace. Her look betrayed her low extraction. From her dress, she might have been taken for a German actress. Her gown had been bought at an old clothes shop: it was quite old-fashioned and covered with silver and dirt. The front of her stomacher was adorned with precious stones. The design was singular: it was a double eagle, the feathers of which were formed of the smallest stones, very ill mounted. She had a dozen orders and as many portraits of saints and relics fastened all along the trimming of her gown, which

clashing together when she walked, made such a tinkling that you would have thought it was a mule.

"The czar, on the contrary, was very tall and well made. He had a handsome face, but in its expression there was something so rude as to frighten one. He wore a dress all of a piece, in the sailor fashion. The czarina, who spoke German very ill and did not perfectly understand what the queen said, called her fool and talked to her in Russian. This poor creature was a princess Galitzin, who had been obliged to play this part to save her life. Having been mixed up in a conspiracy against the czar, she had twice received the knout. I know not what she said to the czarina, but the latter laughed very heartily.

"At length they went to table, where the czar seated himself by the queen. This prince, it is well known, was poisoned in his youth: the poison, of a highly subtle nature, had affected his nerves to such a degree that he was very often seized with a sort of convulsions, which he could not prevent. One of these fits came upon him at table. He made many contortions, and, as he still held his knife in his hand and brandished it about very near to the queen, she became alarmed and offered several times to rise. The czar begged her not to be uneasy, for he should do her no harm; at the same time laying hold of her hand, which he grasped with such violence that the queen could not help crying out: this made him laugh heartily, and say that her bones were much more delicate than his Catherine's. Every preparation had been made for a ball after

supper, but he slipped away as soon as he rose from table, and returned alone and on foot to Mon-Bijou.

"On the following day he was taken to see every thing remarkable in Berlin, and among the rest the cabinet of medals and antique statues. Among the latter there was one representing, as I was told, a heathen deity in a very indecent situation. It was considered as very rare, and as being one of the finest works of the kind. The czar admired it much, and ordered the czarina to kiss it. She refused, on which he was angry and said in broken German: 'Kop ab' [Kopf ab—head off!] meaning I will cut your head off if you do not obey. The czarina was so afraid that she did all he desired. He then asked the king without ceremony for that statue and several others, which the king could not refuse him. In the same manner he begged of him a cabinet made of amber instead of wood. This cabinet was unique in its kind and had cost king Frederick I. immense sums. It had the sad fate of being transported to Petersburg, to the great regret of every one.

"Two days afterwards, this barbarous court left us. The queen went immediately to Mon-Bijou. The desolation of Jerusalem reigned there; never did I see any thing like it: such was the destruction that the queen was obliged to rebuild almost the whole house."

A second illustrious guest was George I. of England who arrived at Charlottenburg on the 8th of October 1723 to return the visit which Frederick

William had shortly before paid him at Herrenhausen. It is said to have been on occasion of this visit to his grandfather, that the prince royal, then eleven years old, saw the princess Amelia, eldest daughter of the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. The princess, only a year older than himself, was handsome, and possessed a good understanding, judgment, vivacity, information, and a fondness for the sciences. Young as Frederick then was, he conceived an attachment for her, and as first impressions are not easily effaced, this attachment gained strength with years, and nothing but the force of circumstances obliged him to renounce it. There is reason to believe that it was mutual. The princess Amelia, aunt of George III. died, it is well known, unmarried, a few years after Frederick, whose miniature she is said to have worn at her bosom as long as she lived.

We again resort to the most amusing Memoirs of the margravine of Bayreuth, for a sketch of the principal personages of the court of her grandfather and the circumstances of his visit, which was limited to five days only.

"The king piqued himself on having sentiments; but he had never taken the trouble to enquire what was necessary for that. Many virtues carried to extremes become vices. Such was the case with him. He affected a firmness which degenerated into rudeness and a tranquillity that might be called indolence. His generosity extended no further than his favourites and his mistresses, by whom

he suffered himself to be governed: all the rest of mankind were excluded from it. Ever since his accession to the crown, he had become unbearably haughty. Two qualities rendered him estimable: these were his equity and his justice. He had not a bad heart, and he prided himself on constancy to those to whom he wished well. His manner was cold; he spoke little, and could not listen with pleasure to any thing but nonsense.

"The countess of Schulenburg, then duchess of Kendal and princess of Eberstein, was his mistress, or rather his wife by a left-handed marriage. She was one of those persons who are so good that, according to the saying, they are good for nothing. She had neither vices nor virtues and all her study was to retain her influence and to prevent any other from supplanting her.

"The princess of Wales possessed extraordinary understanding, extensive acquirements, and a great capacity for business. She won all hearts on her first arrival in England. Her manners were gracious; she was affable, but she was not fortunate enough to retain the love of the people, after they had discovered her real character, which did not correspond with her exterior. She was imperious, false, and ambitious. She has always been compared with Agrippina, and might have exclaimed, like that empress, 'Let all perish so I but reign.' Walpole tells us that, notwithstanding the influence which this princess acquired over George I., he was accus-

tomed to call her 'cette diablesse, madame la princesse.'

"The prince her husband had no more genius than the king his father: he was hasty, passionate, haughty, and unpardonably avaricious.

"Lady Arlington, who held the second rank, was natural daughter of the late elector of Hanover by a countess von Platen. One might say of her with truth that she had the spirit of the devil, for it was bent entirely on mischief. She was vicious, intriguing, and as ambitious as those whose portraits I have just sketched. These three ladies governed the king by turns, though they were always at variance with one another. On one point they were agreed, namely, not to suffer the young duke of Gloucester to marry a princess of any great house, and in wishing for one of no great genius, that they might keep the government in their own hands.

"The king arrived at Charlottenburg on the 8th at seven in the evening. After he had saluted the king and queen, I was presented to him. He kissed me, and turning to the queen said: 'Your daughter is very tall for her age.' He gave her his arm and conducted her to her apartment, whither every body followed. As soon as I had entered, he took up a taper and looked at me from head to foot. I was motionless as a statue and quite out of countenance. Meanwhile he spoke not a word. After he had thus surveyed me, he turned to my brother, whom he caressed much, and with whom he amused him-

self a long time. I took this opportunity to retire. The reception which he had given me made me so much afraid of him, that I never had the courage to speak to him. . . . At length the company went to table, where the king was as silent as before. . . . Towards the conclusion of the repast, he found himself unwell. The queen endeavoured to persuade him to leave the table: they bandied compliments for some time; at length, she threw down her napkin and rose. The king of England began to stagger; the king of Prussia ran to support him; all the company crowded around, but to no purpose; he sank upon his knees, his hat flying one way and his wig another. He was laid gently upon the floor, where he remained a full hour insensible. The attentions paid to him at length brought him by degrees to himself. Meanwhile, the king and queen were in great distress, and many people regarded this attack as a precursor of apoplexy. They urged him to retire, but he would not, and conducted the queen back to her apartment. He was very ill all night, which we only learned privately; but this did not prevent him from making his appearance again on the following day.

"All the rest of his stay was spent in diversions and entertainments. Secret conferences took place daily between the ministers of England and Prussia, and the final result was the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and of the double marriage, which had been planned at Hanover. It was signed on the 12th.

The king of England set out the next day, and his parting from his whole family was as cold as his first meeting."

Since the disgrace of Madame de Blaspil and the good understanding between the courts of England and Prussia, an enmity had arisen between the king's two favourites, the prince of Anhalt and Grumbkow. The former, finding his influence decline, retired to his own capital, Dessau, and rarely came to Berlin, while Grumbkow took occasion from his absence to strengthen himself in the king's favour, superintending at the same time the foreign as well as the domestic affairs of the country.

"The prince of Anhalt had stood godfather for one of Grumbkow's daughters, and promised her a portion of 5000 crowns. As she was about to marry, her father wrote to the prince to remind him of his promise. Anhalt, irritated at the conduct of Grumbkow, who had entirely supplanted him in the good graces of the king, positively denied that he had ever made such a promise. Grumbkow replied; the other rejoined; they began to reproach one another with all their rogueries, and their correspondence at length became so abusive that the prince resolved to decide the quarrel by arms. With the merit which Grumbkow possessed in a supreme degree, he bore the character of an arrant coward. He had given proofs of his valour at the battle of Malplaquet, where he hid himself in a ditch during the whole of the action. He also distinguished himself greatly at Stralsund, where he lost a leg at

the beginning of the campaign, which prevented him from going into the trenches. He had even the same misfortune as a certain king of France, who could not look at a drawn sword without fainting*: but with these little exceptions he was a very brave general. The prince sent him a challenge. Grumbkow, trembling with courage and arming himself with religion and the established laws, replied that he would not fight; that duels were forbidden by divine and human laws, and that he was not disposed to transgress them: nay more, he was determined to earn a crown in heaven by patient endurance of injuries. This affair reached the ears of the king, who employed all his efforts to reconcile the adversaries, but to no purpose: Anhalt was inflexible. It was therefore resolved that they should meet attended by two seconds. The prince chose a colonel Corf, in the Hessian service, and Grumbkow's second was general count Seckendorf, in the imperial service. Seckendorf was the living image of Grumbkow, excepting that the latter affected more religion than he, and that he was brave as his sword. Nothing could be more laughable than the letters which the general wrote to Grumbkow to rouse his courage.

"Meanwhile the king resolved to interfere in the matter. At the beginning of 1725, he summoned a council of war, composed of all the generals and colonel-commandants of his army to meet in Berlin.

* The writer alludes without doubt to James I. of England.

The queen had most of the generals at her disposal. Dazzled by the fine promises made by Grumbkow that he would remain firmly attached to her cause, she made the balance incline in his favour, otherwise he would have run the risk of being broke. He got off with an arrest of a few days, as a sort of satisfaction given by the king to the prince of Anhalt. As soon as he was released, the king sent privately to advise him to meet the prince. The place fixed upon was near Berlin. The two combatants repaired thither, accompanied by their seconds. The prince drew his sword, addressing some abusive expressions to his adversary. Grumbkow answered only by throwing himself at his feet, which he embraced, begging his pardon, and entreating that he would restore his friendship to him. Anhalt, without deigning to reply, turned his back upon him. Thenceforward they were sworn foes, and their animosity terminated only with life. The prince became totally changed for the better; and many have laid the blame of most of his bad actions on the detestable counsels of Grumbkow."

In a long and highly interesting letter from Seckendorf to Prince Eugene relative to the court, army, and politics of Prussia, dated from Meuselwitz June 27, 1725, we find the following characteristic remarks on the king and the prince-royal, which points to the origin of the disharmony that soon afterwards produced such deplorable results.

"In all human probability, the king cannot continue long to live as he does, without injury to mind

and body, for he is in continual motion from morning till late at night; his mind being engaged at a very early hour with various matters, resolutions, and affairs; afterwards he fatigues himself incredibly the whole day with riding, walking, heats himself with hearty eating, and with drinking hard, but not to intoxication, sleeps little and restlessly, and of course irritates his otherwise vehement temper to such a degree that bad consequences may in time arise from it.

"The prince-royal, though but fourteen, is obliged to accomodate himself to this way of life, and though the king is very fond of him, yet he harasses him with early rising and all the above-mentioned fatigues in such a manner that, young as he is, he looks old and stiff, and walks as though he had made many campaigns. The object of the king is to induce him to prefer the military art to every other science, to learn betimes frugality and self-denial, and to seek no convenience or pleasure but what the king himself likes. But it is evident that this way of life is contrary to the inclination of the prince-royal, and that it will of course have a precisely contrary effect in time, since the prince's disposition tends naturally more to generosity, propriety, indulgence, and magnificence, and he is at the same time disinterested, liberal, and benevolent. Two proofs of this were seen on the journey when he refused the present usually made to a prince-royal by the city of Magdeburg, on his first visit to that place, and would not take it till obliged by his

father; but even then, when it was brought to him, he said that, though he was forced to accept it by the king's command, he should keep it till he was his own master and could have it distributed again among the citizens, already burdened with taxes. When again, during the same journey, the town of Stassfurth would have presented him with two hundred ducats as he passed through it, he refused the money and desired that it might be returned to the poor townspeople, forbidding his governors, count Fink and colonel Kalckstein, to say a word about the matter to his father, for fear he should order him to take it. This prince has moreover a strong natural inclination for all sorts of sciences, and especially for mathematics and mechanics, draws prettily, and observes every thing, though expressly forbidden by his father to take any instructions in those things; and he is not allowed to associate with any but military and mostly subaltern officers, whereas his inclination would lead him rather to converse with persons of superior knowledge and information."

Certain it is that Frederick had imbibed from his preceptor Duhan sentiments and tastes very different from his father's. A misunderstanding arising chiefly from this cause sprang up early between the king and the prince. Though the latter submitted to all the restraints and annoyances of the military service, still it could be no secret to his harsh father that he preferred other pursuits to those of the mere soldier. Instead of going to the

smoking party and to church Frederick stayed at home to read Voltaire's works, which interested him more than the discourses of the king's fools and the preachers. Instead of playing sacred music on the harpsichord, agreeably to the king's orders, he preferred the flute, which he chose for his favourite instrument. If he was required to join the hunting party, he would retire to a distance in the forest with his particular associates, and they would take out the instruments which they had brought in the pockets of their hunting coats and practise upon them. He took so little pleasure in military matters that, instead of exercising the corps of cadets instituted for him by the king in 1717, he played duets with von Rentzell, a subaltern of that corps, who was a very clever performer on the flute. The haughtiness with which the prince treated those about him was also intolerable to the king, who was fond of conversing with everybody.

The king's displeasure was expressed in such a manner as could only wound without changing the heart of his son. In his smoking and sporting parties he exposed him to the raillery of his associates, because Frederick took no pleasure either in tobacco or in boar hunts; and for the most trifling cause he would punish him with arrest on bread and water. Such treatment rendered his life almost intolerable, and nothing but the hope of an improvement in his condition, by means of a marriage planned for him by his mother, could have enabled him to endure it. The queen wished namely to

ally her family more closely with that of England by a double marriage of her daughter Wilhelmine with the duke of Gloucester, and the prince-royal of Prussia with the English princess Amelia. The intrigues of Seckendorf thwarted this plan, and thus was the prince cut off from all prospect of such a change of circumstances as should remove him from the immediate superintendence of his father.

It was probably at the persuasion of his mother, that, with a view to conciliate the king, Frederick now wrote to him, deprecating his displeasure, and imploring to be received again into his favour and affection. The king's answer is highly characteristic: "It is your own stubborn wicked head that does not love your father, for if one loves one's father, one does all that he wishes, not only when he is standing by, but when he does not see what one is doing. For the rest, you know well that I cannot bear any effeminate fellow, who has no manly inclinations, who is shy, cannot ride or shoot, and is not cleanly in his person, frizzes his hair like a fool and does not cut it; and all this I have reprimanded a thousand times, but all in vain, and there is no amendment whatever. Is haughty to others, full of beggarly pride, speaks to nobody, except to a few, and is not popular and affable, and makes grimaces with his face as if he was an idiot, and never obeys my will but when he is forced to it, not out of love, and has no liking for anything but to follow his own head, and is otherwise good for nothing. This is the answer. "FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Early in 1726," says the margravine of Bayreuth, "the queen was delivered of a son who was named Henry. As soon as she had recovered, we went to Potsdam. My brother was not of the party: the king could not endure him, because he would not submit to his will. He was always scolding him, and his animosity became so inveterate that well-meaning persons advised the queen to prevail upon him to make submission, which she would not listen to before. . . . . Meanwhile the king became reconciled to my brother, who joined us at Potsdam. He was the most amiable prince that was ever seen; handsome, and well made; with a mind superior to his age—possessing in short all the qualities that can compose a perfect prince.

The imperial court had taken alarm at the alliance between Prussia and England, because it gave to a prince of the empire, who was besides in a great measure independent, a preponderance that might prove dangerous to the supremacy which Austria was solicitous to maintain in Germany. The court of Vienna perceived the urgent necessity for withdrawing Prussia from that alliance, and attaching Frederick William if possible to Austria. For this purpose the imperial general count Seckendorf was sent to Berlin, and he availed himself of the misunderstanding between England and Prussia and executed his commission with such skill, that in October 1726 a treaty was concluded at Wusterhausen between Austria and Prussia, which however was not exactly directed against England. Frederick

William had demanded, as the principal condition of this treaty, that the emperor should guarantee his claims to the succession to Juliers and Berg, while he on his part promised to accede to what was called the Pragmatic Sanction, which was intended to secure to the emperor's daughters the succession to the Austrian monarchy in failure of male heirs. Charles VI. had apparently acquiesced in this demand of the king; but so far was he from entertaining any serious intention to assist in aggrandizing the power of Prussia, that he concluded at the same time a treaty with the elector palatine, guaranteeing to that house the succession which it claimed to Juliers and Berg. By all sorts of evasions, however, he contrived for a series of years to put off the king of Prussia, who naturally pressed for a complete settlement of this affair. His attachment to the emperor, nevertheless, continued unshaken; and Seckendorf had taken good care to gain over his chief favourite, general Grumbkow, by a considerable annuity, to the interest of the Austrian court; and he of course neglected no means of confirming the king in his friendly dispositions towards the emperor.

In adverting to the intrigues of Seckendorf and his court, at this time, the margravine furnishes some interesting and characteristic traits.

"Owing to various causes," she says, "the friendship between the courts of Hanover and Berlin began to cool. The king of Prussia was vexed at the delay of the marriage between his daughter and the duke of Gloucester. George I. had agreed

moreover to furnish out of his electorate a certain number of tall soldiers for the king's giant regiment; and as the Hanoverian minister neglected to obey his master's directions to this effect, the king of Prussia ordered his recruiting officers in Hanover to take men fit for the purpose wherever they should find them. George demanded satisfaction and insisted on the release of his subjects; Frederick William refused to give them up; hence arose misunderstanding between the two courts, which soon degenerated into open hatred.

"Such was the state of affairs when Seckendorf arrived in Berlin as envoy from the emperor, with instructions to detach the king if possible from the great alliance of the maritime powers, to which Prussia had acceded, against Austria, Spain, and Russia. He was accompanied by a troop of gigantic Heyducks whom he presented to the king in the name of his master, intimating at the same time that, as the emperor was anxious on all occasions to please his majesty, he had granted permission to recruit in Hungary, and issued orders for all the tall men in his dominions to be sought out and offered to him. This conduct, so different from that of his own father-in-law, highly delighted the king. Seckendorf moreover gave him grand entertainments every day, to which he invited only his own and Grumbkow's creatures, and, amidst wine and good cheer, he prevailed upon him to renounce some of his engagements with England and to connect himself with the house of Austria."

Seckendorf's influence increased from day to day. He acquired such an ascendency over the king, that he disposed of all vacant places. Spanish pistoles won over to his interest most of the servants and generals about Frederick William, so that he was informed of all his proceedings. The double marriage planned with England being a formidable obstacle to his views, he resolved to prevent it by sowing discord in the family. To this end he employed secret emissaries. A thousand false reports made every day to the king about the prince-royal and his eldest sister, irritated him against them to such a degree that "he ill-used us," says the margravine, "and made us suffer a martyrdom. My brother was represented to him as an ambitious and intriguing prince, who wished for his death that he might himself reign; he was assured that he disliked the army and had openly said that, when he was king, he would disband the troops. He was further described as prodigal, and a character so opposite to that of the king was attributed to him, that it was natural he should conceive an aversion for him."

Of the state of affairs at the Prussian court about this time Seckendorf gives the following account in a despatch addressed to Prince Eugene, on the 22d of January 1727.

"Favourably as the king expresses himself towards the house of Austria, so violently does he launch out at table, in presence of the queen, against the house of Hanover. But, in the evening, in his smoking party he uses still stronger terms. When

major-general von Fink and colonel Toscani once declared themselves in favour of a Hanoverian alliance the king replied in his peculiar violent way, 'He is a coward of a Prussian who is on the Hanoverian side.'

"Notwithstanding these public expressions of opinion, the queen's influence is greater and she is bolder in her public remarks than ever. One day at table, the king was expressing his wish that there might be a war, when the queen looking at him contemptuously said, 'You, do you wish for war?' At another time when he was speaking with great scorn of the English and Hanoverian generals, she replied: 'Why yes, they must get you to command their armies.' On an other occasion, when the king was eating in the retirade at a small table with a very few of the most intimate of his officers, and he declared himself in the imperial interest, the queen rejoined publicly: 'I shall still live to make unbelievers believe, and to show how you are deluded.' Every one who was acquainted with the state of the court formerly and the timidity with which the queen used to demean herself towards the king, is astonished at this change. It is believed that letters from her father and the secret counsels of count Rothenburg have inspired her with this boldness; and that the latter has the less hesitation to urge her to such discourses, as the queen is obliged to do what he wishes, because it is said that the count supplies her with money for expences which she could not defray out of the sum allowed her by the king.

"The king, it is said, puts up with all these extravagances on account of his large expectations from the inheritance of her deceased mother, amounting it is believed to three millions [of dollars]. In order to get this money into his possession, he caresses the queen in all possible ways, and puts up with everything; but there would probably be a great change if either the money was in his coffers or he had no further hopes of obtaining it. With a view to the former, the king has sent the privy-councillor Ludwig, with a secretary and several servants, to Hanover, with a number of empty chests for packing the money, and orders to bring it back to him. But the Hanoverian regency has excused itself; saying that it has received no directions on the subject from England.

"The prince-royal hears all the above-mentioned discourses of his father's, and was at the smoking party in Wusterhausen, when the king expressed himself so strongly in favour of the house of Austria and against that of Hanover; nevertheless, he is so devoted to the queen that he everywhere acts as a spy upon the king for her; through him she knows all that passes, and she reports again to count Rothenburg. General Fink encourages him in these sentiments; this officer served in his youth in the French army, so he is entirely French and English, and one of the strongest of the opposite party, though he is aware that the king does not esteem him too highly on this account.

"The eldest princess, with her next sister, is always

at table and hears all these speeches and arguments, and, though she dares not join in the conversation, it is impossible to help admiring her good sense in listening to everything with the utmost indifference, manifesting no desire either for or against the marriage and alliance, so that one cannot tell whether she wishes it or would rather that it did not take place on account of the well known libertinism of prince Frederick of Hanover. The king seems rather to wish to see the thing settled from a point of honour, because expectations of it have been held out for many years, than to suppose that it would tend to the happiness of his daughter, whom he tenderly loves, like all his other children. Some time ago, being at supper at Grumbkow's, he said with warmth in the presence of eleven of us, 'It is true I was once a stanch Hanoverian on account of the match, but I am so no longer. If they will not have my girl at once, I don't care whether she gets such a dancing-master or not.' I might add many other particulars, but these will suffice to show how the king is disposed towards us. I would not answer for it, however, that he did not change his sentiments, if he could make more advantageous conditions with the other allies. For, besides a great ambition to make a parade before the world, this prince has an insatiable desire to enrich himself and to extend his dominions."

CHAPTER IX.

Preparations for Hostilities between Prussia and Hanover.—Family Dissensions.—Influence of Herrmann Franke over Frederick William.—His design of abdicating the Crown.—Scheme for marrying his eldest daughter to Augustus II., king of Poland.—His visit to Dresden.—Dissolute Court of Augustus.—Melancholy of the Prince-Royal.—Visit of the king of Poland to Berlin.—Sketch of the king.—His Son, the Electoral Prince.—Countess Orzelska.—The Confidential Table.—Rupture of the intended match.—Magnificence of Frederick William.—Locatelli, the violin player.—Feats of Shooting.—Singular scene between the king and the Prince-Royal.—Aversion of Frederick William to his son.—Relaxations of the latter.—Quantz, the flute player.—Violence of the king against the Prince and his Sister.—Illness of the Princess; her cruel treatment.—Removal of Count Fink and Colonel Kalckstein as Governors of the Prince.—Description of the Palace of Wusterhausen.—Family Quarrels.—Projected marriage between the Princess and the Duke of Weissenfels.—Lieutenant Katte; his portrait.—Letter from the Prince Royal to his Sister.—Opposition of the Queen to the proposed match for her daughter.

We have seen that various causes had produced animosities between the courts of Prussia and Hanover. The sudden decease of George I. in June 1727 at Osnabrück, while on his way from England to his hereditary dominions and the accession of George II. to the British throne had no tendency to allay those animosities; and Austria and her ambassador omitted no occasion of fanning the flame and increasing this enmity. War appeared inevitable. In June 1729, 44,000 Prussians were ready to

take the field. The regiment of gensd'armes had marched from Berlin to Halberstadt; three battalions of the guard followed. Pontoons and the train of artillery; as well as the whole garrison of the capital, were ready to break up. George also set in motion his troops, together with the Danish and Hessian auxiliary corps. Brunswick and Saxe-Gotha now undertook to mediate between the parties; and, though peace was preserved through their efforts, all personal friendship was at an end. If George called his brother-in-law, his "dear brother the corporal," or "arch-sandstrewer of the holy Roman empire" Frederick William designated him in return, his "dear brother the comedian." Though such epithets were continually used in the hearing of the queen, still she would not relinquish the scheme of the double marriage; neither were her children nor the English party at court discouraged; while the king was more and more prepossessed against this alliance by the prince of Dessau, Grumbkow, and Seckendorf.

Before his accession to the throne and in the early part of his reign, Frederick William had lived in patriarchal harmony with the queen. During his absence in Pomerania, he had even allowed her majesty a participation in state affairs to an extent unexampled in the sovereign house of Prussia. On several occasions he had then referred the privy council to the queen. But now that her majesty opposed his intentions in regard to the marriages of their children, and these family matters led to

political complications, in which again the queen espoused the party hostile to her husband, their domestic peace was frequently disturbed, and Frederick William enforced his right to arbitary authority with the same rigour at home as in the state. Valets and bedchamber women, ladies of the court and medical men, were bribed by the two parties into which the Prussian court was divided as spies and reporters; nay even doubts of the queen's conjugal fidelity were awakened, without the slightest ground whatever, in the mind of the king; and the domestic peace of the royal pair was for a long time disturbed.

"Meanwhile," I again take up the lively narrative of the margravine, "the frequent debauches into which the king was led by Seckendorf undermined his health; he began to be ailing, and the hypochondria by which he was frequently tormented, made him very melancholy. This disposition was not a little encouraged by Herrman Franke," founder of the orphan house at Halle and of the academical institutions associated with it, who seems to have been on a footing of familiarity with the king, and "who raised scruples of conscience in him about the most innocent things. He condemned all pleasures and diversions, not excepting music and hunting. The king," says his daughter, "preached a sermon to us every afternoon; his valet de chambre struck up a hymn, in which we all joined. We were obliged to listen to the sermon, as though it were that of an apostle. Sometimes, my brother and I

could not help laughing; all the anathemas of the church were instantly launched at us, and we were obliged to submit to them with a contrite and penitent look, which we found it difficult enough to assume. In short, that confounded Franke caused us to live like monks of La Trappe. This excessive bigotry suggested to the king still more extravagant ideas. He resolved to abdicate the crown in favour of my brother. He would reserve, he said, for himself an income of 10,000 crowns a year, and retire with the queen and his daughters to Wusterhausen. 'There,' he added, 'I will pray to God and attend to the cultivation of my land, while my wife and my daughters shall manage the housekeeping. You are a clever girl,' said he to me, 'I will give you the care of the linen, which you shall mend, and of the soap. Frederica, who is covetous, shall have the custody of the provisions. Charlotte shall go to market for victuals, and my wife shall look after my young ones and the kitchen.' He even began to write instructions for my brother, and to take other steps which seriously alarmed Grumbkow and Seckendorf, who, to divert his mind, proposed to him a trip to Dresden, and, as one idea leads to another, so this gave rise to that of marrying me to Augustus king of Poland.

"That prince was then fifty-eight years old. He has always been most renowned for his gallantries; he possessed great qualities, but they were tarnished by great vices. Too strong an attachment to pleasure rendered him careless of the

welfare of his people, and his fondness for the bottle led him into the commission of indignities, which will for ever be a stain upon his memory.

"Grumbkow and Seckendorf now wrote to marshal Flemming, the favourite of Augustus, who, on sounding his master relative to the proposed match, found him well disposed towards it. Flemming was in consequence despatched to invite the king of Prussia to spend the carnival at Dresden. Frederick William, rejoiced to find so brilliant an establishment for his daughter, accepted the invitation, and set off about the middle of January 1728 for Saxony. In this journey he was accompanied, at the express desire of the king of Poland, by the prince-royal.

"The reception which Augustus gave to the king of Prussia was worthy of both monarchs. As the latter disliked ceremonial, it was regulated entirely according to his wish. He had requested to have lodgings at the house of count Wackerbarth, for whom he had a great esteem. That general's house was magnificent; the king found royal apartments there. Unfortunately, the second night after his arrival, a fire broke out in it, and the conflagration was so sudden and so violent that the king was not saved without the utmost difficulty. The whole of that beautiful mansion was reduced to ashes. This would have been a very severe loss for count Wackerbarth, if the king of Poland had not made amends for it by giving him the house of Pirna, which was much more magnificent than the other, and most sumptuously furnished."

In Dresden a new world opened upon Frederick. Of all that he had left at home—the rigour of military life, incessant application, economical household establishment, the observance of the laws of morality —not a trace was here to be found. All was festivity and pleasure, and invention was racked to keep aloof satiety and ennui. Augustus, a man of polished manners, of chivalrous sentiments, and extraordinary bodily strength, had dedicated his life to enjoyment, and explored all the recesses of voluptuousness and debauchery. During the residence of his illustrious guests in his capital, it was his constant study to make their visit pass away like a delightful dream.

His court formed a regular seraglio. When he died, it was calculated that he had had 354 children by his different mistresses. One of the most distinguished of his natural sons was Maurice, count of Saxe, who afterwards acquired such high reputation as marshal in the French service; with him Frederick contracted an intimate friendship, which lasted till the death of Maurice. Pre-eminent among his daughters was Anna, who bore the title of countess of Orzelska, and who lived in incestuous connexion at the same time with the king, and with another of his natural sons, the count Rutowski. She was some years older than Frederick. Her elegant figure, her noble manners, her highly cultivated mind, and her cheerful disposition rendered her irresistibly fascinating. She would frequently dress in the attire of the other sex, which only served to heighten the charms of her person. Frederick soon conceived

the most ardent passion for her, and the fair countess lent a favourable ear to his suit.

In Dresden Frederick William was soon cured of his hypochondria: the incessant round of amusements, good cheer, and capital Tokay made him forget his devotion and put him in good humour. The fascinating manners of Augustus caused him even to feel a warm friendship for that prince. To the latter, however, the conjugal fidelity of the Prussian monarch could not but appear extraordinary. Curiosity induced him to put it to the test. One evening after they had drunk freely, and were going in domino to the masquerade, Augustus led his guest in conversation from room to room, while the prince-royal and some other gentlemen followed. At length they entered an apartment fitted up and furnished with exquisite taste. The king of Prussia was about to express his admiration, when, all at once, a curtain was drawn aside; and an unexpected object presented itself to view: On a couch carelessly reclined a young female, masked, "in the state of our first parents," says the margravine of Bayreuth, but, as another account tells us, barely covered with so thin a drapery that the brilliant light of numerous tapers displayed the most enchanting forms. Augustus, in feigned surprise, approached the nymph with that polished gallantry by which he had won so many female hearts, and begged her to take off the mask. She shook her head by way of refusal. He then told her who he was, adding that he hoped she would not deny two kings a favour so easily granted.

These words were a command; the nymph removed the mask and exhibited a most fascinating face. Augustus appeared quite enchanted, and said that he could not conceive how such charms had till then escaped his observation. Frederick William had meanwhile perceived that his son was a spectator of this scene. He held his hat before the prince's face and ordered him to retire, an injunction which Frederick was not very ready to obey. His sister relates that the king pushed him very roughly out of the room. Then turning to the king of Poland, he drily remarked, "She is very handsome," and instantly retired with his retinue from the apartment and the masquerade. On reaching his lodgings, he complained bitterly to his favourite Grumbkow, to whose suggestion, indeed, the trick is attributed by his daughter, of this unfriendly conduct of the king of Poland, and declared that if it was repeated he would instantly leave Dresden. The prince-royal was very differently affected; he had had time enough to survey the Venus in the cabinet before he was so unceremoniously ejected; she had not excited in him the same horror as in his father; and "he obtained her from the king of Poland," says the margravine of Bayreuth, "in a very singular manner."

"My brother had become passionately enamoured of the countess Orzelska, who was at once natural daughter and mistress of the king of Poland. Her mother was a French shopkeeper at Warsaw. This girl owed her fortune to count Rutowski, another natural child of the king's, whose mistress she had

been; and he had introduced her to the king, who had so many children that he could not provide for them all. He was so smitten with her charms, that he acknowledged her at once as his daughter and conceived a violent passion for her. The attentions of my brother to Orzelska filled him with the most cruel jealousy. To break off this intrigue, he offered him the fair Formera, if he would give up Orzelska. My brother promised that he would, to be put in possession of that beauty who was his first mistress."

During this visit, the king of Prussia concluded a secret political treaty with Augustus, and also promised him his daughter in marriage. The terms were settled and the Prussian monarch lent the Saxon sovereign four millions of crowns upon mortgage of the province of Lusatia.

While in the Saxon capital, Frederick William wrote Jan. 16 as follows to Seckendorf: "Here I am in Dresden and find that the king is grown very old, but I hope that God will preserve him longer for the welfare of Europe and Saxony, for I have found him equitable in regard to religion and his sentiments on this point have charmed me much. As for the electoral prince, I find him a handsome, polite, obliging, and sensible man, and as for the imperial and royal princess, I am ashamed on account of the many civilities she pays me, and as she is of the most illustrious house, I cannot find expressions to praise such civility enough. I look upon her indeed as very bigoted, but as the best person in the world and of great understanding, likewise an agree-

able princess, with whom I am charmed. The magnificence here is so great that I do not think it could have been greater at the court of Louis XIV.; and, as for debauchery, I have been here but two days, and I can say with truth that I never saw any thing like it, so that I have great cause to be satisfied here."

In another letter of the 3rd of February, he writes with his own hand:—"I go home next Wednesday, fatigued with all the good days and good living: the life led here is certainly not christian, but God is my witness that I have found no pleasure in it, and am as pure as I came from home, and as by God's help I will continue till my end."

Though the king staid till the 5th of February in Dresden, he dated all his letters written there from Berlin.

"My brother," says the margravine, "since his return from Dresden had sunk into a state of gloomy melancholy. The change in his temper affected his health; he grew perceptibly thinner, and we were afraid that he would become consumptive. The queen and I did what we could to raise his spirits. I was dotingly fond of him and when I enquired the cause of his despondency he always replied that it was the ill usage of the king. He grew worse, so that it became necessary to inform the king of his situation. He sent his surgeon-major to see him, and the report of the latter alarmed him much. He told him that the prince was very ill, and that he was in a sort of slow fever, which would degenerate

into consumption, unless great care were taken of him. The king now blamed himself for being, by the mortifications to which he subjected the prince, the cause of his melancholy situation; and strove to make amends for the past by loading him with caresses and kindness; but all to no effect. Nobody had then any conception of the cause of his illness, but it was at length discovered to proceed from love. While at Dresden, he had conceived a fondness for debauchery; the restraint under which he lived now prevented him from indulging in it, and his temperament could not endure the privation. Several well-meaning persons apprized the king of this, and advised him to seek a wife for the prince, otherwise death might be the consequence, or he might plunge into debaucheries which would ruin his health. To this the king replied, in the presence of some young officers, that he would give one hundred ducats to any one who should bring him intelligence that his son had a certain loathsome disease. Reprimands and rebuffs now took the place of caresses and kindness, and count Fink and M. von Kalckstein were ordered to watch over his conduct more strictly than ever."

On the 26th May, 1728, the king of Poland, Augustus II. with his son and a retinue of 500 persons arrived at Potsdam, to return the visit of his Prussian majesty. There he stopped two days and inspected the battalion of tall grenadiers. The flugelmann, named Hohmann, measured above seven feet, so that the king of Poland, though rather tall

himself, could not reach his cap with his hand. On the following day, there was a shooting match in the gardens with the cross-bow. The chief prize, won by count Sapieha, was a young bear, dressed up like a merry-andrew, which was led away by Fröhlich, the king of Poland's jester.

On his arrival in Berlin, Augustus waited immediately upon the queen, who went as far as the third ante-chamber to meet and conduct him into her apartment where the princesses and the ladies of the court were assembled. It should be remarked that the Prussian monarch, with that heartlessness which is a peculiar characteristic of those times, had at this period fully determined to sacrifice his eldest daughter afterwards margravine of Bayreuth, to that old debauchee, the king of Poland, with whose vices he was but too well acquainted.

That princess gives the following account of this visit. "The king of Poland had a majestic look and carriage; a polite and affable air accompanied all his motions, all his actions. He was very much broken for his age. The dreadful debaucheries in which he had indulged had caused an accident to his right foot, which prevented his walking or standing long together. Mortification had commenced, and the foot had been saved only by the amputation of two of the toes. The wound was still open, and he was in excessive pain. The queen begged him to be seated, but he would not for a long time; at last, at her earnest entreaties, he sat down upon a stool; the queen seated herself upon another opposite to

him. As my sisters and I continued standing, he made many excuses to us for his want of politeness. He looked at me very attentively, and said something obliging to each of us. He left the queen after conversing with her for an hour.

"The prince-royal of Poland came presently afterwards to pay his respects to the queen. This prince is tall and very stout; his face is regularly handsome, but has in it nothing prepossessing. A certain air of embarrassment accompanies all his actions, and to hide it he has recourse to a very disagreeable forced laugh. He speaks little and has not the gift of being affable and pleasing, like the king his father. He may even be charged with inattention and coarseness. Beneath this unpromising exterior are hidden great qualities, which did not manifest themselves till this prince became king of Poland. He prides himself on being a truly honest man, and his whole attention is devoted to the happiness of his subjects. He leads a most regular life, cannot be charged with any vice, and the good understanding in which he lives with his wife deserves praise. This princess is extremely plain, and has nothing to make amends for her person. He did not stay long with the queen. After this short visit, we returned into our insignificance and passed our evenings as usual, in fasting and retirement, for we had scarcely enough to eat.

"Next day, being Sunday, we all went, after the sermon, into the state-apartments in the palace. The queen advanced from one end of the gallery, accom-

panied by her daughters, the princesses of the blood, and her court, while the two kings entered at the other. Never did I behold a finer sight. All the ladies of the city were ranged in a row along this gallery, magnificently attired. The king and prince of Poland and their suite, consisting of three hundred high personages of their court, both Poles and Saxons, were superbly dressed, forming an extraordinary contrast with the Prussians. The latter were in uniform, the singularity of which struck the eye. Their coats are so short that they could not have served our first parents instead of fig-leaf, and so tight that they durst not stir for fear of bursting them. Their breeches were of white linen, as well as their gaiters, without which they dare not appear. Their hair is powdered but not frizzed, and tied behind with a riband. The king himself was dressed in this manner.

"The sovereigns dined in state. The table was long. The king of Poland and the queen, my mother, were at one end. The king, my father, sat beside the king of Poland, and next to him the electoral prince. Then came the princes of the blood and the foreigners. I was by the side of the queen, my sister next to me, and the princesses of the blood were all placed according to their rank. Many toasts were drunk, little was said, and the whole was sufficiently tiresome. In the evening the queen held a grand drawing-room. The countess Orzelska and Bilinska, natural daughters of the king of Poland, were there, as was also Madame Potge, a woman

notorious for her licentiousness. The first was her father's mistress—a thing that makes one shudder. Without being a regular beauty, her figure was perfect, and there was something fascinating about her. She cared little for her superannuated lover, but was very fond of her brother, count Rutowski, the son of a Turkish woman, who had been femme de chambre to the countess of Königsmark, mother of count [marshal] Saxe. Orzelska was extremely magnificent, especially in regard to jewels, the king having made her a present of those belonging to his late consort.

"There was no end to festivities at Berlin and Charlottenburg. I did not see much of them. The bad opinion which the king my father had of the sex caused him to keep us under terrible restraint; and the queen was obliged to be extremely cautious on account of his jealousy. On the day of the departure of the king of Poland, the two sovereigns dined together at what was called the *confidential table.* It was so named because a select party of friends only was admitted to it. This table is so constructed that it can be let down with pulleys. There is no need of attendants, a kind of drums placed beside the guests serve instead of them. Each person writes down what he wants; the drums descend and come up again with such things as are required. The dinner lasted from one o'clock till ten at night. They sacrificed to Bacchus till the two sovereigns exhibited the potent effects of his divine juice. Leaving the bottle for a while, they

came to the queen's apartment, where they played for a couple of hours. I was of the party of the king of Poland and the queen. He said many obliging things to me, and tricked in order to make me win. He then took leave of us, went to continue his libations, and set out the same night."

After all these visits and negociations, the intended match between king Augustus and the princess of Prussia was broken off, because his son, whose consent was requisite, would not subscribe to the conditions of the contract made by his father.

As Augustus had heard much of the Spartan way of living at the court of Frederick William, he was not a little surprised at the solid magnificence which he found at Potsdam and Berlin. The king was fond of massive gold and silver plate, and he had recently received from Augsburg four silver chandeliers, each of which cost 10,000 dollars. In the hall of the knights and the white hall there were huge pyramidal piles constructed of utensils of silver and gold; in the former there was erected in 1739 an orchestra of massive silver for the performers who played during dinner; and in the reception rooms, the chandeliers, the tables, and the arms of the chairs were of silver. In a cabinet of the queen's many articles, even the fire-pokers, were of gold.

Among the retinue of king Augustus was the celebrated violin-player Locatelli. Though Frederick William cared but little about such performers, he could not help complying with the wish of his

royal visiter that he should hear this famous musician. He appeared in a coat of blue velvet, richly embroidered with silver, having costly diamond rings upon his fingers and a sword by his side. The king thought this a ridiculous dress for a fiddler, and said: "This fellow looks like a councillor of war." On the following day he sent him twenty dollars by one of his pages. Locatelli desired the bearer to keep the money and to thank the king in his name. Frederick William was at first angry and complained to the king of Poland of the fiddler's impudence; but Augustus replied that a performer like him was accustomed to receive gold watches, diamond rings, snuff-boxes, and the like.

"So, so!" said the Prussian monarch, "then we shall know better for another time." A second concert was given, Locatelli again played with great applause and the king had provided a heavy gold box filled with ducats. After the concert, he called Locatelli and handed him the box, saying: "You are such a splendid fellow that I should like to earn the gift myself this time." "Such a present," replied Locatelli, "from the hand of a monarch, is too valuable for me ever to part with it."

The festivities closed with a hunting party on the Jungfernheide on the 14th of June. Though the king of Poland had some excellent marksmen in his retinue, yet Frederick William won a wager which he laid with him. Augustus boasted that he could produce a man whom none could equal, much less surpass. Frederick William was acquainted

with a lieutenant of artillery named Brink, who was an extraordinary shot, and matched him against the Saxon jäger, whose skill consisted in firing three balls at a pole at the distance of four hundred paces and hitting precisely the same spot with them all. Brink immediately performed the same feat; he then set up his sword at the same distance, and fired three balls against the edge of it with such precision that they were divided into two equal halves. The Saxon tried to imitate him but failed.

The king of Poland left Berlin at midnight on the 17th of June, and proceeded on his journey to Warsaw. The margravine of Bayreuth relates that her brother's health was at this time much improved, but he pretended to be worse than he really was, that he might be excused from attending the state dinners, because he was unwilling to give the precedency to the electoral prince of Saxony, as his father would have infallibly required him to do. His cure was completed, adds the princess by his joy at meeting Orzelska again, and her favourable reception of him in the secret visits that he paid her.

Soon after the departure of the king of Poland from Berlin, occurred a singular scene, in which the prince-royal was an actor, and which is thus related by his sister:

"The king was beset by Seckendorf and Grumbkow; they had frequent drinking-bouts together. One day, when they were thus engaged, a large tankard in the shape of a mortar presented by the

king of Poland to his Prussian majesty was ordered to be brought. This mortar was of silver gilt, and chased: within it there was another tankard of the same material, and it had a lid of gold enriched with precious stones. These two tankards went round several times. Heated with wine, my brother took it into his head to leap upon the king and to kiss him several times. Seckendorf would have prevented him, but he thrust him roughly away, and continued to kiss his father, assuring him that he loved him dearly, that he was convinced of the goodness of his heart, and that he attributed the unkindness with which he overwhelmed him entirely to the bad advice of certain persons anxious to profit by the dissensions which they strove to excite in the family; that he was determined to love and respect the king, and to be obedient to him as long as he lived. This sally pleased his father much and procured my brother some alleviation for about a fortnight. But this brief calm was succeeded by storms. The poor prince had not the least recreation; music, reading, the sciences, the arts, were prohibited as so many crimes. Nobody durst speak to him: he himself was scarcely allowed to go and see the queen, and he led the dullest life in the world. Notwithstanding the king's prohibitions he applied himself to the sciences, in which he made great progress. But the forlorn state in which he lived drove him into libertinism. His governors durst not follow him and he gave himself up entirely to debauchery."

The proposed match between Frederick William's eldest daughter and the king of Poland having been broken off, his Prussian majesty, who seems to have been very anxious to get the princess off his hands, now insisted on her marrying the duke of Weissenfels, lieutenant-general in the Saxon service, a younger branch of a very ancient house, but not one of the most illustrious in Germany. To this match his daughter, supported by her mother and brother was decidedly adverse; and at the same time the negociation with England for the double marriage was continued under the auspices of the queen.

We have seen how the prince-royal, initiated at the depraved court of Dresden into the indulgence of illicit passion, had, according to the admission of his sister, "given himself up entirely to debauchery." As his every step was watched, and his every expression reported, the imperial party at the court of Berlin, whose principle was to sow dissension that they might govern, took good care that the king should not be ignorant of his conduct. The unnatural aversion which Frederick William had conceived against his son, was increased to such a degree that he exclaimed: "Fritz is a piper and a poet: he cares nothing about the soldiers, and he will undo all that I have been doing." It is not improbable that the levity of the prince himself might have strengthened him in this opinion. Thus it is related that, one day, when the king had taken him along with him into his treasure-room, and they came to a sack of money bending with its own

weight to the floor, Frederick patted it with his hand, and jocosely said: "Be easy, thy redeemer liveth!" The king, angry at this presumptive indication of a spendthrift disposition would not suffer him to set foot in that room again. Deeming him disqualified by his pursuits and inclinations to be his successor, the king even conceived the idea of excluding him from the throne and inducing him to renounce it in favour of his eldest brother. Frederick well knowing how sacred his father held the seventh commandment, replied with great presence of mind that he was ready to renounce the succession, if the king would declare before all the courts of Europe that he was not his legitimate child. In later years he himself admitted: "I was an *étourdi* and deserved my father's anger, but it was expressed with unnatural violence." And yet, when Frederick takes up the pen to relate the deeds of his ancestors, he praises the conduct of his father, and, laying the blame of all his youthful tribulations upon himself, he says: "On account of the virtues of such a father, one must have some indulgence for the faults of the children."

Frederick, after devoting the forenoon to restraint, wearing the queue introduced by his father in the military profession and afterwards adopted by all Europe, bracing himself up in a tight uniform, and submitting to the dinner formalities, made himself amends in the afternoon. Retiring to his room, he threw his uniform into a corner, had his hair dressed in the fashion, with the appendage of a bag,

put on a gold brocade dressing gown, studied, made verses, or practised on the flute. When the king of Poland visited Berlin, he had among his retinue an eminent flute-player named Quantz. Frederick was so struck with his exquisite performance that he was anxious to secure the benefit of his instructions. This, however, was a difficult matter. Augustus would not part with Quantz, and Frederick William, it was certain, would not afford his son any such gratification. The queen, nevertheless, contrived that his wish should be fulfilled. Quantz went privately twice a year from Dresden to Berlin, and gave lessons to the prince on his instrument, either very early in the morning, or more commonly between four and seven in the afternoon.

One day when the prince, according to his custom in an afternoon, had thrown off his uniform and put on a dress in the French fashion and a bag, and was practising with Quantz, Katte entered his apartment in breathless haste and told him that the king was coming, and that he was close at hand. Snatching up the flutes and the music-books, he had but just time to hide himself with Quantz in a small closet from which the stove was supplied with fuel; while Frederick slipped on his uniform. The king entered. The unlucky bag, which the prince had not time to take off, betrayed him. The king, on searching about, discovered behind a curtain shelves containing books, and upon which also lay handsome morning gowns. These latter and the bag were doomed by the king to the flames; the

books he ordered to be sold to Haude, the bookseller: and he did not retire till he had given his son a long lecture, which Quantz heard trembling in his hiding-place He was the more alarmed, because he was dressed in a red coat, a colour to which the king had a particular dislike: and in his future visits to Berlin he took good care not to wear any other than grey or blue. The books were kept by Haude for the prince, who sent for them as he wanted them, till the whole library could be restored to him.

The king and his family were at Potsdam, when he had a violent attack of gout in both feet. This complaint, together with the non-fulfilment of his hopes in regard to the English marriages, made him insufferably ill-tempered. "The pains of purgatory," says his daughter, "could not equal what we endured. We were obliged to be in his room by nine in the morning; we dined in it and durst not leave it on any account whatever. Nothing was to be heard the whole day but invectives against my brother and myself. The king never called me any thing but *la canaille anglaise* (the English blackguard) and my brother *le coquin de Fritz* (that scoundrel Fritz). He forced us to eat and drink things which we disliked, or which disagreed with us; so that sometimes we could not help bringing up again in his presence all that we had in our stomachs. The king's impatience would not let him remain in bed: he was drawn about in a chair upon castors through the whole palace; his two arms

being supported by crutches. We had always to follow this triumphal car, like captives about to undergo their sentence.

"One morning, when we entered to pay our duty to him, he ordered us away. 'Begone,' said he angrily to the queen, 'with all your cursed brats; I want to be alone.' The queen was about to reply, but he insisted on her silence, and directed dinner to be served up in her apartment. The queen was uneasy, but we were delighted, for my brother and I were getting as thin as laths for want of food. But no sooner had we sat down to table than one of the king's valets came running out of breath and crying: 'Madam, come quick, for God's sake, for the king is going to strangle himself!' The queen instantly ran in a great fright. She found the king with a cord twisted about his neck, with which he would have been strangled, had she not come to his assistance. He was light-headed and in a high fever, which abated towards evening, when he was somewhat better. We were extremely glad of it, hoping that his ill temper would subside, but it did not.

"He related to the queen, at supper, that he had received letters from Anspach, informing him that the young margrave intended to be in Berlin in May, to marry my sister and that he should send his governor, M. von Bremen, to bring the ring of promise. He asked my sister if that would please her, and what sort of a house she should keep when she was married. My sister was on such a footing with him that she could tell him all she thought,

and even home truths, without his being offended. She therefore replied, with her usual frankness, that she would keep a good table, delicately supplied—'a better one,' added she, 'than yours; and if I have children I will not ill-use them like you, and force them to eat what goes against them.'—'What do you mean by that?' rejoined the king. What is the matter with my table?'—'Why, one cannot get enough to eat at it,' said she, 'and the little there is consists of coarse vegetables, which we cannot bear.' The king had begun to be angry at her first answer; the latter threw him into a furious passion, but its violence fell upon my brother and me. He first threw a plate at the head of my brother, who avoided the blow; then flung another at me, which I dodged in like manner. A torrent of abuse followed these first hostilities. He then turned his rage against the queen, reproaching her for bringing up her children so ill. 'You ought to curse your mother,' said he, addressing my brother; 'it is owing to her that you are so ill brought up. I had a preceptor,' continued the king, 'who was an honest man: I still recollect a story which he told me when I was young. There was a man at Carthage, said he, who was condemned to death for various crimes which he had committed. While they were leading him to execution, he begged leave to speak to his mother. He put his head close to her, as if to whisper something, and bit off a piece of her ear. I treat you so, said he to his mother, that you may serve as a warning to all parents who do not take

pains to bring up their children in the practice of virtue. Apply this,' he proceeded, still addressing my brother, and as he made no answer, he commenced a fresh volley of invectives, which he kept up till he was unable to speak. We rose from table, and, as we were obliged to pass him, he aimed a violent blow at me with his crutch, which I luckily avoided, or it must have knocked me down. He pursued me for some time in his chair, but those who drew it gave me time to escape to the queen's apartment, which was at a considerable distance."

This is an extraordinary picture of courtly habits and manners in the early part of the eighteenth century; but we learn from what follows that in those days even royal parents had less consideration for their offspring, than persons of any feeling would show at the present day for their dog or cat. After the scene above described the princess found herself very ill; she fainted several times and had violent fever. This illness she attributes to the sudden chill caused by passing through a series of apartments where there was no fire, and where it was extremely cold. In this condition, she sent to her mother, to represent to her that she was too ill to leave her room. The queen would not listen to any excuses, but insisted on her attendance in her apartment as usual, *dead or alive*. She was accordingly dragged thither "almost on all fours." Though she fainted there repeatedly, she was taken in like manner to the king's apartment, who forced her to swallow a large goblet of old strong Rhenish wine,

which increased her fever and produced delirium. This lasted for two days, and then small-pox made its appearance. Let us hear her own account of the manner in which she was now treated:—

"During the whole time that I was ill, the king never asked after me. On being told that I had the small-pox, he sent Holzendorf, his surgeon to see what I ailed. This brute said a hundred harsh things by desire of the king, and added others: but I was so ill that I took little heed of them. He confirmed the report which had been made of my situation. His fears lest my sister should catch the disorder made him take all imaginable precautions to prevent it, but in a very cruel way for me. I was instantly treated like a prisoner of state; seals were put on all the avenues leading to my chamber, excepting one. The queen and all her servants were expressly forbidden to come near me: so was my brother. I lay in a chamber where the cold was terrible. The broth given me was nothing but water and salt, and, when some better was asked for, the messenger was told that the king had said 'it was quite good enough for me.' When I dosed off a little towards morning, I was presently startled by the sound of the drum; but the king would rather have let me die than stop that. My brother, who had had the small-pox, never forsook me; he came twice a day by stealth to see me. The queen, not daring to come, sent every moment to enquire after me."—The only wonder is, under all the circumstances, that the patient recovered, but this she

did, though, as she tell us, she "had the disorder three times, for no sooner did it go away than it broke out again."

Meanwhile Seckendorf and Grumbkow, in order to prevent effectually the projected English alliance, determined to foster the dissensions already prevailing in the house of Prussia, hoping that the prince-royal might be forced by the ill-usage of his father to take some violent resolution. Count Fink was an obstacle to this design. "My brother," says the margravine of Bayreuth, "had a regard for him, and his character of governor gave him a sort of authority over his pupil, which was likely to prevent him from taking any step prejudicial to his interest. They represented, therefore, to the king, that my brother, being past eighteen, had no further need of a governor, and that by dismissing Fink, he would put an end to all the intrigues of the queen, whose agent he was. The king approved their suggestion; the two governors were honourably dismissed with handsome pensions, and returned to their military duties. In their place, two officers were given to my brother on the footing of companions:—colonel Rochow a very honest man, but of very ordinary capacity; and major Keyserling, likewise a very honest man, but a hare-brained fellow and a babbler. My brother liked them both very well; but Keyserling, being the younger and very debauched, was consequently his favourite. This dear brother came and passed every afternoon with me: we read, we wrote together, and endeavoured to improve our

minds; but I must confess that our writings were frequently satires, in which we did not spare our neighbour."

Soon after the recovery of the princess, her eldest sister was married to the margrave of Anspach, after which the royal family retired to Wusterhausen. Of "this terrible place" as the princess calls it, she draws the following picture:

"The king had thrown up by dint of labour and expence a hill of dry sand, which intercepted the view so completely that the enchanted palace was not to be seen till you began to descend it. This palace, as it was called, consisted of a very small building, whose beauty was set off by an antique tower, containing a winding staircase. It was surrounded by a terrace, about which had been dug a moat, the black and stagnant water of which was like that of Styx, and diffused a stench that was almost suffocating. Three bridges led from the three faces of the house to the court, the garden, and an opposite mill. The court was bounded on two sides by the wings, where the gentlemen of the king's retinue lodged, and on the other by a palisade, at the entrance to which were fastened two white eagles, two black eagles, and two bears, by way of guards—malicious creatures, by the bye, which attacked everybody. In the middle of this court was a well, out of which had been made with great art a fountain for the use of the kitchen. This magnificent groupe was surrounded by steps and enclosed with iron railing; and this was the

charming spot which the king chose for smoking in the evening. My sister and I, with our attendants, had no other lodging but two chambers, or to speak more correctly, garrets. We dined, in all weathers, in a tent set up under a large lime-tree, and, when it rained hard, we were ancle-deep in water, as the place was in a hollow. The table was always laid for twenty-four persons, three fourths of whom were upon short allowance, because there were in general but six dishes, and those very sparingly supplied. From nine in the morning till three or four in the afternoon, we were shut up with the queen, who would not let us get a breath of air, or go into the garden, which was close at hand. She played all day at tocadille with her three ladies, while the king was out of doors. He always rose from table at one o'clock, then lay down on a couch placed on the terrace, and slept till half-past two, exposed to the most intense heat of the sun. We shared this scorching heat with him, lying on the ground at his feet. Such was the agreeable life that we led in this charming place."

Here, the princess tells us, the disputes about her own marriage were renewed. "All day there was nothing but quarrels and dissensions. The king almost starved my brother and me. He performed the office of carver and helped everybody excepting us two: and, when there happened to be something left in a dish, he would spit upon it to prevent us from eating it!!! We lived both of us on coffee and dried cherries, which totally spoiled my appetite.

On the other hand, I was treated with abundance of abuse and invectives, being called, all day long by all sorts of names, no matter who was present. The king's anger was sometimes so violent that he drove my brother and me away, and forbade us to appear in his presence except at meal-times. The queen had us to see her secretly while he was gone a-hunting. She had spies on the look-out, who came and informed her as soon as he was to be seen in the distance, that she might have time to send us away. Owing to the negligence of these people, the king one day surprised us in her apartment. There was but one door to it, and he came upon us so suddenly that it was impossible to escape. My brother hid himself in a recess, while I crept beneath the queen's bed, which was so low that I had some trouble to get under it, and was in a most inconvenient posture. No sooner were we in our hiding-places than the king entered. Being much fatigued with the chase, he threw himself upon the bed and fell asleep, and there he lay for two good hours. I was almost stifled under the bed, and could not help poking out my head now and then to get air. Could any one have witnessed this scene, it must have been extremely laughable. At length the king awoke and went away; we crawled out of our dens as speedily as we could, begging the queen not to bring us into any more such scrapes."

The king soon afterwards went to Libnow, a small town in Saxony, to have an interview with the king of Poland. Here it was that Seckendorf

and Grumbkow, supported by the latter sovereign, obtained from Frederick William a formal promise of the hand of his eldest daughter for the duke of Weissenfels, but this circumstance he kept a profound secret from his family, which on his return he began to treat with his usual brutality.

"He never saw my brother," says the princess, "but he threatened him with his cane. The latter told me frequently that he would endure everything from the king but blows, and that, if he ever proceeded to extremities with him, he would emancipate himself by flight. Keith, one of the king's pages, who had been a tool of my brother's pleasures, had been made officer in a regiment quartered in the country of Cleves. I was very glad that he was gone, hoping that my brother would lead a more regular life; but this was far from being the case. A second favourite, much more dangerous than the other, succeeded him. This young man, captain-lieutenant in the gens-d'armes, was named Katte. He was the grandson of marshal count Wartensleben. General Katte his father had sent him to college, having destined him for the law, and he had then travelled; but, as no favour was to be hoped for except for persons in the army, he was placed in it contrary to his expectation. He continued to apply himself to study: he had a good understanding, had read a great deal, and seen much of the world, and the good company which he continued to frequent had given a polish to his manners which was then very rare in Berlin. His face was

rather disagreeable than prepossessing: his eyes were almost covered by bushy black brows, and they had a sort of sinister look, which almost foreboded his fate. His face was tanned and pitted with the small-pox, which made him look still worse. He affected the free-thinker, was excessively dissolute, and withal very ambitious and indiscreet. Such a favourite was not likely to lead my brother back to better courses. I was not informed of this new friendship till my return to Berlin, a few days after the king's arrival from Libnow. Here we lived for some time very quietly till a fresh occurrence disturbed our repose.

"The queen one day received a letter from my brother, which was delivered to her secretly by one of her attendants. This letter made such an impression upon me, that I can repeat it nearly word for word.

"'I am in the utmost despair. What I have long apprehended has at length happened. The king has entirely forgotten that I am his son and treated me like the vilest of mankind. This morning, I went into his room as usual: the moment he saw me, he seized me by the collar and struck me with his cane in the most cruel manner. I strove in vain to defend myself; he was in such a terrible passion that he was beside himself, and only desisted from sheer weariness. I am driven to extremity: I have too much honour to endure such treatment, and am determined to put an end to it in one way or other.'"

This letter plunged the queen and her daughter into the deepest grief: the latter, who was better acquainted with the meaning of the concluding words than her mother, besought her not to persist in the scheme of the alliance with England, which embittered the king's mind against her, against her brother, and against herself; adding that she foresaw that one of them must be sacrificed to the hatred of Seckendorf and Grumbkow, and she would rather be that one than her brother, though a forced marriage with the duke of Weissenfels would make her most wretched. Upon this, "the queen," she says, "flew into a violent passion: 'Do you wish to break my heart,' said she, 'and to bring me with sorrow to the grave? Never talk in that manner again, and depend upon it, if you are capable of such meanness, I will give you my curse, renounce you for my daughter, and never suffer you to appear again in my presence.' These last words were uttered with such emphasis and agitation that I was frightened. She was pregnant and this increased my apprehensions. I strove to soothe her and assured her that I would never do anything that could cause her the least vexation.

"For some time the king behaved tolerably well to the queen; but my brother's condition and mine were no better. I durst not appear in his presence. My poor brother, who was absolutely required to be about his person, was subject every day to blows with his fists and his cane. He was in the greatest distress, and I suffered more than he did in seeing him thus treated."

CHAPTER X.

The Prince-Royal forms the design of absconding.—Illness of the Queen.—Barbarous usage of the Prince by his Father.—Mission of Sir — Hotham to the Prussian Court.—The King goes to the Saxon Camp at Mühlberg.—Artful conduct of Seckendorf.—Gross insult offered by the King to Hotham.—Fruitless Overtures for Conciliation.—Mission of Guidekens, the English Secretary of Legation, on behalf of the Prince-Royal.—Apparent change in his sentiments for his Sister.—The King sets out with the Prince on a Journey to Anspach and the South of Germany.—Frederick attempts to execute his design of escaping.—Is placed in close custody by his Father.—Brutal violence of the King.—Arrival at Wesel.—Examination of the Prince.—Generous interposition of General von der Mosel.—Letter to Madame Kamecke.—Seckendorf's Narrative of the Prince's Attempt.—Escape of Keith from Wesel.—Katte's proceedings in Berlin.—His Arrest.—Fright of the Queen and the Princess about the Letters written by them to the Prince.—Curious circumstances attending the recovery and destruction of them.

FREDERICK had now entered his 19th year. He measured five feet two inches three lines; his make was rather slender than robust, his chest well arched. His countenance combined dignity and grace in an extraordinary degree; and his blue eye, though piercing, had a most agreeable expression.

A new cause of dissatisfaction had come to the king's knowledge. He was informed that the prince had contracted debts to the amount of 7000 dollars —in his eyes an unpardonable offence—and he renewed an edict forbidding any one, upon penalty of hard labour in chains, or even death, to lend

money to minors, members of the royal family not excepted.

In February 1730, Frederick William took a journey to Dresden to confer with the king of Poland. He was accompanied by the prince-royal, who, the evening before his departure, after taking leave of his sister, went to her apartment magnificently dressed in the French fashion, which changed his appearance so much that at first she did not know him. He told her that such had always been their mutual fondness that with her he could not make a secret of his intentions; that, weary of the ill-usage which he suffered, he was determined to seize this opportunity to throw off so galling a yoke; that he should secretly leave Dresden and proceed to England; and that on his arrival there he had no doubt he should soon find means to extricate her from her disagreeable situation. The remonstrances and entreaties of the princess, backed by those of her governess, Madame de Sonsfeld, at length shook his determination, and he gave his word of honour that he would not carry it into execution.

During the king's absence, the queen fell dangerously ill, and her disorder, gradually growing worse, had reached its height some days after his return to Potsdam. A special messenger was sent, begging him to come, if he wished to see her again alive. At sight of her, his suspicions that her illness was feigned were dispelled; he was overwhelmed with grief, burst into tears, and declared to those around him that he should not long survive

the queen if she were taken from him! The touching manner in which she spoke to him increased his affliction. He begged her forgiveness a thousand times for all the vexation which he had caused her, and showed that he had acted much less from his own impulse than from the instigation of the unworthy creatures who had always set him against her. The queen implored him to be reconciled with his two children, and to afford her in dying the consolation of seeing peace restored in the family. "He sent for me," says the princess, "I fell at his feet, and said all that I thought most likely to soften him. Sobs interrupted my utterance. All present were in tears. At length he lifted me up, kissed me, and seemed to feel for my situation. My brother then came. He merely told him that he forgave him for the past on his mother's account; that he must change his conduct, and thenceforward obey his will, in which case he might rely upon his paternal affection. The queen was so delighted at this restoration of harmony in the family, that in three days she was out of danger. The king, relieved from his anxiety about her, reverted to his former sentiments towards my brother and myself; but, as the queen's health was yet precarious, he concealed his aversion in her presence, and ill-used us when we were out of her apartment.

"My brother began to receive his usual allowance of canings and cuffs, and to be more and more impatient, saying to me every day that he was resolved to run away, and only waiting for an

opportunity. His mind was so soured that he would not listen to my exhortations, and he was frequently angry even with me. One day, when I was using all my efforts to appease him, he said: 'You are always preaching patience to me, but you will never put yourself in my place. I am the most miserable of beings, surrounded from morning till night by spies, who put a malicious construction upon all my words and actions. The most innocent recreations are forbidden me. I dare not read; music is prohibited; and if I do enjoy those pleasures it is only by stealth and with trembling. But what has quite driven me to despair, is a circumstance that has just happened at Potsdam, which I would not tell the queen, as it would only make her uneasy. One morning, on entering the king's apartment, he seized me by the hair, and flung me on the floor, along which, after exercising the strength of his arms on my poor body, he dragged me, in spite of all my resistance, to a window that was near, and seemed bent on performing the office of the mutes in the seraglio; for, laying hold of the cord of the window curtain, he put it round my neck. Luckily I had time to rise; I seized both his hands and began to cry out. A valet-de-chambre came immediately to my relief, and rescued me from his grasp*. Such

* It was probably to this circumstance that Frederick alluded, during the seven years' war, when, in conversation with Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English ambassador, he said: "I was long very unhappy and was cruelly treated by my father. My resolution came to maturity one day when my father struck me

are the dangers to which I am daily exposed, and so desperate is my condition that none but violent remedies can put an end to it. Katte is in my interest; he is attached to me, and will follow me all the world over, if I wish it. Keith will join me too. With them I am making all the arrangements for my flight. I shall not say anything to the queen; she would not fail to tell Ramen,' [her femme-de-chambre, in whom she placed implicit confidence and who repaid it by betraying every word she said to her enemies, Grumbkow and Seckendorf,] 'and I should be ruined. I shall inform you secretly of all that happens and find a safe channel for sending you letters.' The situation of my brother was so deplorable, that I could not condemn his resolutions, though I foresaw their disastrous consequences. His plans were so ill-conceived, and those who were informed of them so indiscreet and so unfit to conduct an affair of such importance, that they could not but miscarry. I proved all this to my brother, but he was so infatuated with his schemes, that he would not heed what I said, and I could only prevail upon him to defer their execution till the receipt of the expected letters from England."

Those letters soon afterwards arrived. They announced the appointment of Sir — Hotham as his Britannic majesty's envoy extraordinary to the

and dragged me by the hair. In this disordered state, I was obliged to cross the parade. From that moment I was firmly resolved to venture at any risk."

court of Berlin, to conduct the negotiation. He arrived on the 2nd of May and had an audience of the king at Charlottenburg. The envoy, after assuring the king of the continued friendship of his master, told him that he was instructed to ask the hand of his eldest daughter for the prince of Wales, and he had no doubt that the king would consent to the union of the prince-royal with the princess Amelia; but he wished the other to take place first, and then it would depend on his Prussian majesty to fix that of the prince. The king was so elated with this communication, that after dinner, at which the bottle circulated freely as usual, he poured out a bumper and proposed to the envoy the health of his son-in-law the prince of Wales and that of the princess. Grumbkow and Seckendorf were thunderstruck, while the queen's friends and the other envoys triumphed. All rose from table and congratulated the king, who was so overjoyed that he shed tears. After dinner, Hotham stepped up to the king, and besought him not to divulge the proposals which he had made in reference to the marriage till he had granted him a second audience.

In this and other secret conferences, Hotham informed the king that his Britannic majesty required one condition as a preliminary to the conclusion of the double marriage, namely, the dismissal of his minister Grumbkow. He represented that this man, entirely in the interest of the court of Vienna, was the only cause of the continual misunderstandings between the two houses; that he betrayed the

secrets of state, and that, in concert with Reichenbach, the Prussian resident in London, he plotted the most infamous intrigues. He added that letters of his to this Reichenbach had been intercepted, and he could prove what he had advanced by showing them to the king. He urged the latter to the conclusion of the two marriages, assuring him that the king of England would be satisfied with the betrothal of the prince-royal, and leave him quite at liberty to fix the time for his nuptials. He went still further, and offered to give the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling with the princess of England, without requiring any dowry with the Prussian princess.

On the 30th of May the king of Prussia set out for the camp of Mühlberg, to which he had been invited by the king of Poland. The whole Saxon army was there collected, and made those evolutions and manœuvres which have been described by the celebrated chevalier Folard. The uniforms, liveries, and equipages were of consummate magnificence; and the tables, one hundred in number, were sumptuously supplied. Frederick, as usual accompanied his father, and before his departure, on taking leave of his sister, he informed her that he should this time put his long meditated plan into execution. Her remonstrances, however, and those of her gouvernante, who represented that it would be the height of imprudence not to await the conclusion of the negotiation with England, again induced him to promise to forego his intention

It appears, however, that, in spite of his promise, Frederick was bent on seizing this opportunity for attempting to carry it into effect. A letter addressed by him to Katte, probably just before he set out for Saxony, as it is dated in May, and found after Katte's arrest among the papers entrusted to his care by Frederick, affords sufficient evidence of his intention. It was as follows: "I am off, my dear Katte. I have taken such precautions that I have nothing to fear. I shall pass through Leipsick, where I shall assume the name of marquis d'Ambreville. I have already sent word to Keith, who will proceed direct to England. Lose no time, for I calculate on finding you at Leipsick. Adieu, be of good cheer."

In pursuance of this scheme, the prince applied to the Saxon minister, von Hoym, for passports and post-horses for two officers travelling incognito, but the minister, most likely acquainted with his design, which, partly through spies and partly through Katte's indiscretion, was no secret to Grumbkow and Seckendorf, refused his assistance. He communicated the circumstance to the king, and Augustus himself entreated Frederick, whose impatience seems to have been wrought up to the highest pitch by brutal treatment of his father's while at Mühlberg, at least to delay the execution of his plan while he was in his dominions.

The vaunted manœuvres at the Saxon camp are described by Frederick, in the life of his father, as being rather a theatrical exhibition than a represen-

tation of war. "During these specious demonstrations of friendship," he continues, "Augustus sought, by his intrigues at all the courts, to wrest from Frederick William the succession to the duchy of Berg and to secure it for himself. This camp, this magnificence, these false tokens of esteem, were stratagems by which the king of Poland hoped to lull the Prussian monarch: but the latter saw through his design, and only felt the stronger detestation of his perfidy." He says nothing more concerning this journey, lest he should have to touch upon the unpleasant scenes which occurred between himself and his father.

On the king's return to Berlin, Ilotham, who had meanwhile received the original letters of Grumbkow's which had been intercepted, informed the king of the circumstance and requested a private audience. Seckendorf, learning this fact by means of his spies, determined to be beforehand with the British envoy. After enlarging upon the anxiety of the emperor to secure the king's friendship, and the advantages which it had already procured him, he adverted to the correspondence of the prince-royal with England, containing promises of marriage made without his majesty's knowledge, and to the rumours of his intended flight. As for his projected marriage, he declared that it was too dangerous a scheme for the king to assent to it. "Consider, sire," said he, "how many inconveniences attend it: you will have a vain, conceited daughter-in-law who will fill your court with intrigues;

the revenues of your kingdom will not be adequate to her expences; and who knows if she may not at last strip you of your authority! I am warm, sire, but forgive me on account of my zeal; it is Seckendorf and not the emperor's minister who addresses you. England treats you like a child: she entices you with a lump of sugar and seems to say: you shall have this if you will obey me and dismiss Grumbkow. What a stain upon your majesty's glory, if you fall into so palpable a snare, and what reliance can faithful servants place upon you, if they find themselves incessantly the sport of foreign powers!" At length he carried his hypocrisy so far as to burst into tears, and acted his part so well as to produce the intended effect.

Next day Hotham had his audience. After assuring the king that his court acceded to all his wishes, he put into his hands Grumbkow's letters, adding that he had no doubt the king would give him up as soon as he had read them; that one of them was indeed in cipher, but persons had been found clever enough to decipher it. The king took them with a furious look, and flung them in the face of the envoy, at the same time raising his foot as if to kick him. He thought better of it, however, left the room without speaking, and slammed the door with violence. The English minister retired in as great a rage as the king. As soon as he reached his residence, he sent for the envoys of Holland and Denmark and told them what had passed. His English spirit showed itself on this occasion; he

protested to those gentlemen that, if the king had stayed a moment longer, he should not have regarded his rank, but taken satisfaction on the spot. His character of minister having been violated by this insult, he declared that his negotiation was at an end and that he should set out very early next morning. Attempts were made to appease him, but to no purpose. The king bitterly repented his misconduct and commissioned the ministers of Denmark and Holland to assure him that he was ready to make him a formal reparation in their presence. At the suggestion of M. de Leuvener, the Danish envoy, the prince-royal wrote a note to the English minister, to prevail upon him to accept this expedient. It was to the following effect:—

"SIR,—Having learned from M. Leuvener the final intentions of the king, my father, I have no doubt that you will accede to his wishes. Consider, sir, that my happiness and my sister's depend on the resolution that you shall take, and that your answer will cause the union or disunion of the two houses. I flatter myself that it will be favourable and that you will comply with my entreaties. I shall never forget such a service, which I will acknowledge throughout my whole life by the most perfect esteem, &c."

To this note, delivered to the British envoy by Katte, he returned the following reply:—

"MONSEIGNEUR,—M. de Katte has just delivered to me the note of your royal highness. I am filled with gratitude for the confidence which it manifests.

Were it my own personal affair, I would strive to do the impossible, in order to prove my respect by my deference to your orders; but as the insult which I have received regards the king my master, I cannot comply with the wishes of your royal highness. I will endeavour to give the best turn that I can to this affair; and, though it interrupts the negotiations, I hope that it will not break them off altogether."

Finding that the affair was at an end, the king's ill humour vented itself upon the queen. He told her in a sarcastic tone that he had determined to make his eldest daughter coadjutrix of the abbey of Herford; and he instantly wrote on the subject to the abbess, the margravine Philip, who acceded to his wish without hesitation. The English envoy, adhering stedfastly to his purpose, quitted Berlin.

Frederick, nevertheless, was indiscreet enough to write to the queen of England that he would never marry any but an English princess. The king was apprized of this circumstance by Seckendorf, whose authority was general Diemar, the Hessian minister in London.

Guidekens, the British secretary of legation, was now commissioned by the prince "to sound the English court as to whether he could find protection there, or whether it could obtain permission for him to reside in France." He resolved to await the return of Guidekens, and to defer the scheme of flight till the king's next journey to Anspach. On his arrival in Berlin, the prince placed in the hands of Katte his ready money, jewels, and letters; and

through him he got made a gray cloth coat with silver lace, which he intended to wear in his flight. Katte promised, upon pretext of going a-recruiting, to accompany the prince disguised as a postillion, to meet him at Anspach and then to watch an opportunity for escaping.

Guidekens, meanwhile, returned from London. In a nocturnal interview with the prince, arranged by Katte, in the porch of the palace, he represented to him that his presence was not wished for in England; that he must relinquish the idea of going thither, as the execution of it under the then circumstances would set all Europe in flames and widen the breach between the two countries; but that everything would be done in England to assist him and to pay his debts. The prince, however, did not desist from his purpose. Katte offered to go himself to England to secure him a reception, and Frederick gave him a letter for the king. He wrote at the same time to Guidekens that his debts amounted to 15,000 dollars, and begged that he would procure that sum for him from his Britannic majesty.

"My brother," says the princess, whose projected establishment was annihilated by the wanton provocation given by her father to the British envoy, "seemed to care but little for this reverse. 'Turn abbess,' said he to me, wagging his head: 'you will still have an establishment. I cannot comprehend why the queen should fret; the misfortune does not appear to be so very great. I am tired of all these underhand proceedings: my resolution is taken. I

have nothing to reproach myself with in regard to you. I have made every effort to promote your marriage; get out of the scrape as well as you can. It is high time for me to think of myself; I have suffered enough; do not assail me with any more tears and entreaties—they will be to no purpose.' All this, uttered in a tone of vexation, pierced my heart. His mind had been so soured for some time, and he led such a libertine life, that his former good feelings seemed to be stifled. I strove to appease him and to make him listen to reason. His short disdainful answers ruffled me in my turn; I replied in a few keen words which produced still keener, so that I was obliged to hold my tongue, in hopes of making it up with him when his passion was over.

"He was to set off very early next morning with the king for Anspach; it was absolutely necessary that I should make my peace with him that night. I loved him too much to part from him on bad terms, and I wished to prevent, if possible, the scheme which he meditated. He listened very coldly to all the kind and affectionate things that I said to him; and when I pressed him to give me his word that he would not make any attempt, he replied: 'I have made many reflections, which have caused me to change my mind; I have no thoughts of flight and shall certainly return hither.'"

On the 15th of July the king set out with the prince for Anspach. Frederick had another meeting in Potsdam with Katte, who could not obtain the leave of absence which he solicited, and who

advised him not to be precipitate, and to make no attempt till he reached Wesel, whence he might most expeditiously proceed to England by way of Holland. The prince agreed to follow this advice, but next day he wrote to Katte, intimating that he should not accompany the king to Wesel, and would wait for him at Cannstadt.

Frederick, it appears, intended to give his father the slip at Anspach; but his indiscretion in betraying his dissatisfaction with the king to the margrave excited in the latter some suspicion of his design, and he refused him horses, which he asked for upon pretext of taking a ride. The king had thrown off all restraint in regard to him and ill used him publicly in the presence of several strangers, before whom he had even repeated what he had often said before: "If my father had treated me so, I would soon have run away; but you have no heart; you are a coward." Unable to execute his design at Anspach, the prince was obliged to wait for another opportunity. A few miles from that town he was overtaken by a courier bringing a letter from Katte in answer to his, stating that he had not yet obtained leave of absence, and therefore again entreated the prince to defer his flight till he should reach Wesel. The prince replied that he was determined to escape from Sinzheim; that he would find him at the Hague under the name of count d'Alberville; and that he might follow as soon as he heard of his flight. If his plan miscarried, he would seek refuge in a convent, where they would not think of seeking

the arch-heretic under the cowl and scapulary. This letter was directed "via Nürnberg;" but the prince in his agitation had omitted to insert Berlin. Unluckily a cousin of Katte's, of the same name as himself, happened to be at Erlangen, about twelve miles off, on the recruiting service; to him it was delivered, and he deemed its contents so important that he despatched it by express to the king at Frankfurt.

Pursuing their journey towards the Rhine, the king and his retinue arrived at Steinfurth, a village between Heilbronn and Heidelberg, where, for want of better accommodation, they had to pass the night upon straw in barns. Frederick, colonel Rochow, and Gummersbach, the prince's valet, had one to themselves.

It has already been observed that Keith had been appointed lieutenant in the regiment of Mosel, stationed at Wesel. The king had taken his brother for page in his place. This lad was as stupid as the other was acute. The prince-royal, knowing him to be so, had not acquainted him with his design, but judged that, on account of his very stupidity, he would be fitter than any other to facilitate his escape. He told him that, hearing there were some pretty girls at a neighbouring hamlet, he would try his luck among them; and desired him to call him at four in the morning and to have horses ready, which would be an easy matter, as there was to be a horse-market the next day. The page obeyed, but, instead of waking the prince, he called the valet.

The latter, who had long been a spy of the king's, suspecting some mystery, lay quiet and pretended to be asleep. Frederick awoke presently afterwards; rose, put on a coat in the French fashion instead of his uniform, and went out. His valet, who had watched all his motions, soon roused colonel Rochow, who hurried in great agitation to general Buddenbrock and colonels Waldow and Derschau, who were in the king's suite. Having consulted together, they went after the prince, seeking him through the whole village, and at last found him at the horse-market, leaning against a cart. They were struck on seeing his dress, and asked very respectfully what he was doing there. The prince returned a sharp answer; "and he afterwards told me," says his sister, "that he was so enraged on finding himself discovered, that if he had been armed, he would have defended himself to the last extremity against those gentlemen." "Monseigneur," said Rochow, "for God's sake, change your coat. The king is awake and will start in half an hour. What would be the consequence, if he were to see you in this state!" "I promise you," replied the prince, "that I will be ready before the king; I only mean to take a little turn." They were still arguing, when Keith arrived with the horses. The prince seized the bridle of one of them and would have leaped upon it, but was prevented by those around him, and forced to return to the barn, whether he would or not, and to put on his uniform. Notwithstanding his rage, he was obliged to restrain himself.

Colonel Derschau and the valet informed the king the same day of all that had happened. He concealed his resentment, as he had not sufficient proofs; and presuming, no doubt, that he was not likely to stop at this first attempt.

The whole party arrived in the evening at Frankfurt. There the king received, on the following morning, the 11th of August, an express from Katte's cousin, bringing the letter which the prince had written to his friend, who was still in Berlin. He showed it immediately to colonels Waldow and Rochow, ordering them to watch the conduct of his son, for whose safe custody they should answer with their heads, and to take him straight to the yacht prepared for him, as he meant to travel from Frankfurt to Wesel by water. These orders were immediately obeyed.

The king passed that whole day at Frankfurt, not embarking till next morning. As soon as he saw the prince, he collared him, tore up his hair by the roots, and struck him in the face with the knob of his stick till the blood streamed from his nose. "Never," exclaimed Frederick, with smothered rage, "did the face of a Brandenburg suffer such indignity!" Colonels von Waldow and Rochow interfered to prevent further violence, and begged permission to remove the prince into another boat, which was at length granted. His sword was taken from him, and from that moment he was treated as a state criminal. The king seized his effects, and the prince's valet secured his papers, but only to burn

them before his master's face—"in which," observes his sister, "he did us all an important service." The king meanwhile was so furious that he meditated only the most vindictive designs; while his son appeared composed, flattering himself that he should find means to elude the vigilance of his keepers.

In these dispositions they arrived at Wesel. The king went on before; the prince followed with his two keepers. On reaching the bridge of boats, at the entrance of that town, he begged those gentlemen to permit him to alight that he might not be known. Not aware of his intention, they granted him this trifling favour. No sooner was he out of the chaise, than he set off running as fast as he could. He was stopped by a strong guard under lieutenant-colonel Borck, whom the king had sent to meet him, and conducted to the town-house, contiguous to that where his majesty lodged. Not a word was said to the king about this last attempt.

Next day, the commandant, major-general von der Mosel, who had raised himself to that rank by his bravery and merit, was ordered to bring the prince before his majesty. "Why would you have run away?" he asked in a furious tone.—"Because," replied the prince firmly, "you have not treated me like your son, but like a base slave."—"Then you are an infamous deserter, who have no honour."—"I have as much as you," rejoined the prince, "I have done no more than I have heard you say a hundred times that you would have done were you in my place." The king, incensed in the highest

degree by this answer, drew his sword and would have run him through, had not general Mosel, perceiving his design, stepped between them to prevent the blow. "If sire," said he, seizing the king's arm, "you must have blood, stab me; my old carcass is not good for much: but spare your son!" These words checked his fury; and he ordered the prince to be taken back into the house. The general remonstrated strongly with the king on his procedure, representing that he would be always master of his son's person, that he ought not to condemn him without a hearing, and that he would commit a crime for which there was no forgiveness if he became his executioner. He entreated him at the same time to appoint faithful and trusty persons to examine him, and not to see him again, as he was not sufficiently master of himself to endure his presence. The king felt the force of these reasons, and complied.

A recent biographer of Frederick's states, I know not on what authority, that such was the pity excited by his situation among the military at Wesel, who, knowing the violent temper of his father, even entertained fears for his life, that a party of officers, among whom was colonel Gröbnitz, resolved to deliver him at all hazards; that they had procured for this purpose the dress of a female peasant, and ropes to enable him to descend from the windows of the room in which he was confined, but that colonel Dossow caused bars to be put to them, and thus disconcerted this plan.

Colonels Rochow, Waldow, and Dossow were ordered to conduct the prince under military escort to Treuenbrietzen, with directions to avoid the Hanoverian and Hessian territory; and, that the queen might not be too violently alarmed by the melancholy intelligence, the king sent the following letter from Wesel to her grand gouvernante:

"My dear Madame von Kamecke—Fritz has attempted to desert. I have been obliged to put him under arrest. I beg you to break the matter as gently as you can to my wife, lest the news should alarm her. For the rest, pity an unhappy father,

"FREDERICK WILLIAM."

This letter arrived at Mon Bijou when the queen was at play. She was impatient to see it, and it need not be observed that it filled her with the most painful anxiety concerning the lot of her son. Along with it the king forwarded an order for the apprehension of lieutenant Katte, who, as we have seen, had remained in Berlin.

Before I relate the results of this most indiscreet attempt of the prince royal's to withdraw himself from his father's authority, I shall present the reader with the extremely interesting narrative of this affair, given by Seckendorf, who accompanied the king of Prussia on this journey, in a private report to the emperor, which contains some particulars that I have not met with elsewhere.

"For two years past, his majesty the king of Prussia has been afraid that the prince-royal harboured a design to abscond secretly, because his

temper could not at all agree with that of his father. This apprehension may have been the reason why the king refused the permission earnestly solicited by the prince-royal to travel in foreign countries, and consoled him with the promise of making a campaign in any war that might arise. But, in order to make the more sure of the prince's person, he recommended to all those about his highness, and especially to lieutenant-colonel Rochow, to keep a vigilant eye upon him, lest he should secretly escape. Hence the prince put no confidence in his domestics, but formed an intimate friendship in the Saxon camp with lieutenant Katte, of the royal gens-d'armes, and associated very familiarly with him. Rochow, perceiving this, warned Katte, a young, but clever and sensible, man, against too great familiarity with the prince, and it was in consequence apparently discontinued.

"When his majesty had resolved upon the journey to Anspach and other German courts, he long hesitated whether he should take the prince along with him, but for many reasons, he thought it better to do so than to leave him behind. For greater security, however, he gave orders to lieutenant-colonel Rochow, major-general Buddenbrock, and colonel Waldow, that one of these three should always be with the prince in his chaise. It was ascribed to the curiosity of the prince that at Leipzig he bought several maps, especially of the countries bordering upon the Rhine, and that he wished to learn from colonel Kröcher, the adjutant-general,

what route the king meant to take, and where he intended to pass the night. At Augsburg, the prince secretly bought, through his valet, a piece of red cloth for a surtout, telling him it was destined for a different purpose. At Ludwigsburg, the residence of the duke of Würtemberg, he privately and unknown to any one got this cloth made up into a surtout; and, as the route led to Mannheim, the prince secretly concerted with one of the king's pages, named Keith, that at Sinzlieim, where the king intended to pass the night, he should procure post-horses for the purpose of crossing the Rhine to Spire. This design would perhaps have been carried into execution had not the king by accident stopped for the night at Steinfurth two leagues short of Sinzheim. At this village, however, the prince had found means to bespeak horses through the medium of Keith; but, as lieutenant-colonel Rochow did not leave him for a moment, he was obliged against his will to retire to rest and to defer his design. Next morning the king gave orders that the prince should start before him, and take the road to Mannheim; but, as he arrived there a full hour before the prince and had seen nothing of him by the way, he conjectured that the prince must have found means to escape. The king's uneasiness on this account was such that he sent the elector palatine's equerry along the road to Heidelberg, and he met the prince by the way and brought him to Mannheim. Meanwhile the extreme inquietude of his majesty so touched the heart of Keith, who had followed the king

throughout the whole journey on horseback, that he fell at his feet, and confessed that he had suffered himself to be persuaded, as above mentioned, to bespeak horses for the prince's flight. On the arrival of the prince, the king did not betray any knowledge of the matter, but as, by accident, the intendant, the commandant, and several French colonels from Landau came the next day to Mannheim—purposely, as the king imagined, on the prince's account—he repeated his orders to Buddenbrock, Waldow, and Rochow, not to lose sight of the prince either by day or night.

"Upon reaching Darmstadt on Sunday the 7th of August, the king said to the prince that he was surprised to see him there, as he had supposed that he was already in Paris. The prince replied, as he told me afterwards, that if he had chosen he might have been at that moment in France. The king ordered the above-mentioned officers, on their arrival at Frankfurt on the morrow, not to let the prince enter the city, but to take him immediately on board the vessel which would be in readiness there. In Frankfurt the king received information from other places that lieutenant Katte had sent off a servant by post from Berlin, and that he was believed to have gone by way of Erlangen to Nürnberg. Before landing at Bonn, to pay a visit to the elector of Cologne, the king charged the above-mentioned general and officers in my presence to watch the prince closely, and to bring him back to the vessel alive or dead. These and other harsh

expressions were heard by the prince with the greatest patience; and though I was informed generally of the affair, I was not so accurately acquainted with the particulars here stated as I afterwards became partly from the communications of the king and partly from those of the prince himself.

"The latter told me, in Bonn, it was very true that he had firmly resolved upon flight. The reason was that he, as a prince of eighteen, could not bear to be beaten by the king, as he had served him in the Saxon camp. In spite of all vigilance, he would certainly have escaped, had not his affection for the queen and his sister restrained him. He did not repent this resolution, and, unless the king desisted from striking him, he would yet carry it into effect, cost what it would. He cared but little about the loss of his own life, but he was very sorry that those officers who were in the secret should suffer through him, as it was no fault of theirs, but they had yielded to his persuasions. If the king would promise him to pardon those persons, he would frankly confess everything; if not, he would suffer his head to be struck off before he would betray one of them. The queen and colonel Kalckstein knew nothing of the matter; he was extremely grieved on Katte's account; but he hoped that he had escaped. He had entrusted his private letters to Katte's care, and directed him in case of discovery to burn or throw them into the water. He had also given him a thousand dollars in gold. He begged me to speak to the king on the subject, saying that I could not

do him a greater kindness, which he would acknowledge as long as he lived, than to help him out of this labyrinth.

"On the following day, at Meurs, having found an opportunity to speak to his majesty, I assured him in general terms of the prince's sorrow, and how ready he was to disclose every thing, if the king would pardon those who had known of the affair. The king declared that, if the prince would disclose everything frankly and without falsehood, of which he had great doubt, he would exercise mercy instead of justice towards him and his accomplices.

"On the king's arrival in Guelders, he was informed that the brother of the page Keith, who was also formerly page to the king, and sent about a year ago as lieutenant to a regiment in Wesel, for no other reason than because he was too familiar with the prince-royal, had fled from Wesel some days before; and, as it was believed that there could be no cause for this but a participation in the design of the prince, the king was again so irritated that he sent forward the prince, with the officers about him, to Wesel, with orders to await his arrival at the Rhine. It was thence conjectured that the king had resolved to proceed severely with the prince-royal, and so it actually turned out; for, immediately after his arrival here in Wesel, the prince was brought before him, and as he would not make so full a confession as the king had hoped, he was taken by the governor, general Mosel to a separate room in the commandant's house, where

the king also lodges, and has been guarded till now by two sentinels with bayonets fixed. Colonel Derschau was yesterday obliged to examine him upon articles written by the king himself. But, as far as I have been able to learn, the prince has confessed nothing, but that it was his intention to cross the Rhine at Landau, to make himself known to nobody, but to proceed immediately by way of Strasburg to Paris, to enter incognito into the French military service, to go with the troops to Italy, to distinguish himself there, and so to regain the king's favour. He will not confess whence he got the money that he has given to Katte and Keith, but he has said thus much, that he had sold the diamonds of the Polish order given him two years ago by the king of Poland; and he is said to be most concerned lest Katte and Keith should be apprehended. Of the latter nothing is known but that he took the road to Nimwegen. Colonel Dumoulin is sent after him to find him out, if possible, and to arrest him. Whether the king, who will set out in a few days, will leave the prince here in confinement or take him with him is not known. I suppose the former, because he cannot well get to Berlin without passing through the Brunswick or Hessian territory, and the king is perhaps afraid that he might find help there."

Frederick had actually found means when at Frankfurt to despatch a single line written in pencil to Keith at Wesel. "Sauvez-vous," he wrote, "tout est découvert," and this brief warning luckily

reached its destination, or Keith would no doubt have shared the same cruel fate which overtook Katte. Not more than four miles from one of the gates of Wesel was situated the village of Dingden, in the territory of Münster, whence Keith hastened by way of Overyssel to the Hague. Here he found an asylum in the house of lord Chesterfield, the English ambassador. In vain his return was expected at Wesel, and for a while it was concluded from the nice order in which he had left all his effects that he was ignorant of what had happened. It was not till some time after he was in a place of safety that lieutenant-colonel Dumouli.. was sent after the fugitive; and he traced him to the Hague, where he kept himself concealed in a garret at lord Chesterfield's. In co-operation with M. Meinershagen, the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, Dumoulin endeavoured to discover Keith's hiding-place, and to obtain from the grand pensionary an order for his delivery as a criminal who had committed high treason. Their spies had already discovered that a light was burning till late every night in a garret at the English ambassador's, which used to be uninhabited, and that a foreign officer had entered the house but not since been seen. Chesterfield, finding that there was no time to be lost, contrived to send him to Scheveningen, and thence by one of the fishing-boats of that place to England. Some days after his escape, Dumoulin arrived at Scheveningen. While looking at the fishermen coming in, he could not help expressing his astonish-

ment to one of them at their venturing out to sea in such small vessels. "Why," said the man, "we often go to England in such boats. I have been carrying a foreign officer over and only just come back myself." From a minute description which he gave of his passenger, Dumoulin concluded that it could be no other than Keith, who was hung in effigy at Wesel; while he, proceeding in the English fleet under admiral Norris to the assistance of Portugal, was immediately appointed major of cavalry in the service of that power.

Let us now see what had been passing in Berlin during the king's absence. Katte was still there, waiting for tidings from the prince. Some days after the king's departure, the princess Wilhelmine was informed by one of her ladies that lieutenant Katte was blabbing Frederick's plan over the whole city, even in the presence of suspicious persons, and exhibiting a box containing a portrait of herself and her brother. The queen was very angry on hearing this, and sent Madame de Sonsfeld to demand the portrait of the princess. Katte excused himself as well as he could, but would not give up the portrait: he said it was a copy which he had made, with the prince's permission, from an original miniature that he had entrusted to his care till his return. He desired Madame de Sonsfeld to assure the queen of his discretion in future, and to beg her majesty to be quite easy, for, so long as he was in favour with the prince-royal, he would endeavour to divert him from any dangerous resolutions that he might be disposed to take.

A few days afterwards there was a concert at the palace of Mon-Bijou, to which the lovers of music had admittance. Katte was there. The princess Wilhelmine, after accompanying the performances for a considerable time on the harpsichord, went into the next room, where some of the company were playing at cards. Katte begged her, for God's sake, to listen for a moment to what he had to say about her brother, the mention of whom was quite sufficient to induce her to comply. He began with lamenting that he had incurred the displeasure of the queen and her royal highness; said that false reports had reached them concerning him, that he was accused of having encouraged the prince-royal in his design of escaping; but he protested by all that was most sacred that he had written to him and positively refused to follow him if he made any attempt at flight; adding, "and I pledge my life that he will never take such a step without me." The princess upbraided him with his indiscretion in divulging her brother's intentions, and telling everybody his secrets; and also with having her portrait, showing it about in the way he did, and not giving it up when the queen desired it. He replied that he had not spoken about the prince-royal to any one but M. de Leuvener, who was a person above suspicion; that, having himself copied the two portraits, he thought there could be no harm in showing them to some of his friends, as specimens of his own work, and confessed that he would rather die than part with them. He repeated that, so long as he

was about the prince, he would prevent the execution of his designs, though at bottom he could not see that he would run much risk. "What great harm could befal him," said he, "if he were caught? He is heir to the crown, and nobody would dare to meddle with him." "Beware," replied the princess, "you are playing high, and I am very much afraid that I shall be but too true a prophet." "If I lose my head," he answered, "it will be in a glorious cause; but the prince-royal will not forsake me." This was the last time the princess saw Katte, and little did she imagine that her gloomy predictions, meant only to intimidate him, would so speedily be verified.

Grumbkow, who was in Berlin, had received intelligence of the arrest of the prince-royal, and mentioned it in confidence to several of his friends. The fact having come to the knowledge of M. de Leuvener, he immediately wrote to Katte, urging him to set out forthwith or he would infallibly be arrested. Katte accordingly solicited and obtained of marshal von Natzmer leave of absence, upon pretext of paying his respects to the margrave Albert at Friedrichsfeld. He had ordered a saddle to be made in such a manner that it would hold money and papers. Unluckily it was not finished, and he was obliged to wait for it. He made good use of this interval, for he burned his papers. At length his horse was saddled, and he was just going to mount, when the marshal, accompanied by his guards, arrived, demanded his sword, and arrested him in

the king's name. Katte delivered it without changing countenance; and was immediately conducted to prison. Seals were put upon all his effects in the presence of the marshal, who appeared more concerned than the prisoner. He had delayed executing the king's orders more than three hours, to give Katte time to escape, and was extremely grieved to find that he was not gone.

The arrest of Katte was a thunderstroke to the queen. She bethought her of the very numerous letters which herself and her daughter had written to the prince-royal; she judged that Frederick must have left them in the care of his friend, that they must be among his effects, and if found must bring ruin upon the writers. This surmise proved correct. They learned that there were several boxes belonging to the prince among Katte's effects, upon which seals had been put. The queen now resolved to have recourse to marshal Natzmer, who had before rendered her service in a similar case, when the countess Fink came to the palace in great consternation, and related that, before she reached home the preceding evening, a parcel sealed and addressed to the queen had been left at her house by men in masks. It was accompanied with a note, requesting her to send it to her majesty, as it contained letters written by her and the princess to the prince-royal. The parcel was sent for, and carried to the apartments of the queen, who locked it up. It was a portfolio, with a padlock, corded, and sealed. The difficulty was to get at the contents. It was so heavy that neither

the queen nor the princess could carry it from the place where it was deposited; they were, therefore, obliged to have recourse to a trusty old valet, who relieved them from another embarrassment on account of the seal. He had found, about a month before, in the garden of Mon-Bijou, a seal, which, on comparison proved to be exactly like the impression on the parcel, which was no doubt Katte's arms.

The portfolio contained at least fifteen hundred letters written by the queen and the princess, in many of which the king was mentioned in no very respectful terms. Those of the former contained, moreover, the details of all the intrigues in England, and of an illness which she had feigned the preceding winter to gain time—in short, the most important secrets. No sooner was the portfolio opened than the queen's chaplain, Reinbeck was announced, and as she had sent the preceding day to beg him to call, she could not help seeing him. In her agitation, she said to her daughter, on leaving the room: "For God's sake, burn all these letters; let not one be saved!" Her injunction was obeyed. On her return, they examined the rest of the papers, which consisted of letters from an infinite number of persons, billets-doux, moral reflexions and remarks on history written by the prince-royal, a purse containing a thousand pistoles, several jewels and valuable stones, and the letter from the prince to Katte, which has been quoted in a preceding page.

"We threw all these papers into the fire," says

the princess, "excepting my brother's little performances, which I preserved. I began the same evening to write fresh letters to replace the others. The queen did the same on the following day. We had the precaution to take paper of each year to prevent discovery. This job occupied us three days, in which we fabricated six or seven hundred letters—but a trifle in comparison with those which we had destroyed. This we perceived, when we were going to close up the portfolio again; it was so empty that it could not fail to betray us. I proposed to continue writing in order to fill it; but the queen was so uneasy that she chose rather to pack up all sorts of things in it than delay closing it any longer. At length we restored it to its original state, so that no change was perceptible in it."

Thiébault, in his *Recollections of a Twenty Years' Residence in Berlin*, asserts that the letters abstracted from the prince's portfolio were preserved by the queen, and by her packed up shortly before her death and addressed to her son. He intimates that this packet was never opened by Frederick II., and that he saw it himself in the same state, in a cabinet of the palace in Berlin, when he quitted that city in 1784. I am much more disposed to credit the margravine of Bayreuth's account of their destruction; for the queen could scarcely have been guilty of such egregious imprudence as to preserve evidence which, if discovered, must have compromised her own safety and that of her two eldest children.

CHAPTER XI.

Return of the King to Berlin.—First Interview with his Family.—Reprimand given him by Madame Kamecke.—His Violence towards Katte.—Confession of the latter.—Examination of the Prince-Royal.—He is sent to Cüstrin.—Punishment of all who had befriended him; the younger Keith, van Spaen, Duhan, Hanau, Knyphausen, Bülow and his Sister, Baron Montolieu, Lieberkühn, Doris Ritter.—Rigorous Treatment of the Prince at Cüstrin.—Kind Attention of Captain Fouqué and President Münchow.—Members of the Court-Martial.—Sentence on the Prince and Katte.—The King changes that of the latter to Death.—Letters of Katte to the King and to his Grandfather, Count Wartensleben.—Letter of the Count to the King, and his Reply.—Katte's Execution.—Paper left by him for the Prince.—Protest of the Prince of Anhalt, Natzmer, and Buddenbrock against the Sentence of Death passed on Frederick.—Letter of the Emperor Charles VI.—Course proposed by Seckendorf.—Correspondence between the King and Müller, the Chaplain respecting the Prince.—His Release from Arrest.—His Letter to the Emperor.—State of the Princess Wilhelmine.—The tame Rook.—Frederick's new Occupations at Cüstrin.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, having relinquished his intention of visiting Holland, left Wesel on his return to Berlin. "At the express desire of the king," says Seckendorf in a report subsequent to that which has been already quoted, "I accompanied him to Halle, as the rest of his suite had to take a quite different route. At Halle we heard that Katte, who was most deeply implicated in the prince's flight, had been taken with all his letters. The queen and the princess-royal are in great con-

sternation, as there have been found in Katte's possession 2,000 dollars in ready money and a great number of jewels, which are supposed to have come from them." His majesty arrived in Berlin on the 27th of August, and the scene which took place at the first interview with his family is thus graphically portrayed by his daughter:—

"The queen was by herself in the king's apartment when he entered. As soon as he saw her, he cried: 'Your good-for-nothing son is no more—he is dead.' 'What!' exclaimed the queen, 'can you have had the barbarity to murder him?'—'Yes, I tell you,' rejoined the king; 'but I want the portfolio.' The queen went to fetch it; I availed myself of that moment to see her; she was almost frantic, and never ceased crying, 'Good God! my son, my son!' I fell fainting into the arms of Madame de Sonsfeld. As soon as the queen had delivered the portfolio to the king, he tore it in pieces, and took out the letters, which he carried away. The queen seized this opportunity to come into the room where I was. I had revived. She related what had passed, exhorting me to be firm. Ramen somewhat raised our hopes by assuring the queen that she knew from very good authority that my brother was alive. Meanwhile the king came back. We all hastened to him to kiss his hand: but no sooner did he set eyes on me than, inflamed with rage and fury, he turned quite black in the face, his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth. 'Infamous blackguard!' said he to me, 'darest thou appear in my

presence? Go, keep thy scoundrel of a brother company!' As he thus spoke, he seized me with one hand, and gave me several blows with his fist in the face, one of which, upon the temple, was so violent, that it knocked me backwards, and I should have split my skull against a corner of the wainscot, if Madame de Sonsfeld had not caught hold of my dress. The king, unable to control himself, would have struck me again and trampled upon me, but was prevented by the queen, my brothers and sisters, and the other persons present. They surrounded me, and thus allowed time to mesdames Kamecke and Sonsfeld to lift me up and place me in a chair in the embrasure of a window which was close by. Seeing that I got no better, they despatched one of my sisters for a glass of water and a smelling bottle, by means of which they somewhat revived me. I reproached them for the trouble they took with me, as death would have been infinitely preferable to life in the then state of things.

"The queen set up piercing shrieks; her firmness had forsaken her; she wrung her hands and ran wildly about the room. The King's face was so distorted with rage that it was frightful to look at. My brothers and sisters, the youngest only four years old, were at his knees, and strove to move him by their tears, while Madame de Sonsfeld supported my head, bruised and swollen with the blows I had received.

"By this time, the king had changed his tone. He confessed that my brother was yet alive, but his

horrible threats that he would have him put to death, and confine me for the rest of my life between four walls, were appalling. He charged me with being an accomplice in the attempt of the prince-royal in what he called high treason, and having a love intrigue with Katte, by whom, he said, I had had several children. My gouvernante, unable to endure these insults in silence, had the courage to reply: 'That is not true; whoever dared tell your majesty such a thing is a liar.' The king made no reply and recommenced his invectives. Fearful of injuring my brother, I restrained myself. At last I said, in as loud a tone as my weakness would permit, that I was ready to marry the duke of Weissenfels, if he would spare his life. The noise he made prevented him from hearing me. I was about to repeat this declaration, when Madame de Sonsfeld stopped my mouth with her handkerchief. Turning my head to get rid of it, I saw poor Katte crossing the Platz, accompanied by four gens-d'armes, who were conducting him to the king. Pale and haggard, he lifted his hat to salute me. My brother's boxes and his, which had been seized and sealed, were carried after him. In another moment the king was informed that he was come.

"He left the room, crying: 'Now I shall have evidence to convict the scoundrel Fritz and that blackguard Wilhelmine. I shall find plenty of reasons strong enough to have their heads off.' Mesdames Kamecke and Ramen followed him. The latter laid hold of his arm saying; 'If you

are determined to put the prince-royal to death, at least spare the queen. She is innocent of all this, and you may take my word for it. Treat her kindly and you may do what you please with her.' Madame Kamecke took a very different tone. 'You have hitherto prided yourself,' said she, 'on being a prince just, equitable, and fearing God. That bountiful Being has rewarded you by showering blessings upon your head; but beware of transgressing his holy commandments, and fear the effects of the divine justice. It has punished two sovereigns, who dared to shed, as you say you will, the blood of their own sons. The male line of Philip II. and of Peter the Great became extinct; their dominions fell a prey to foreign and civil wars; and those monarchs, from being the great men they were, are now abhorred by mankind. Bethink yourself, sire; the first movement of passion is pardonable, but it will become criminal, if you do not strive to subdue it.'

"The king looked stedfastly at her for some time without interrupting her. When she had done speaking, he broke silence. 'You are a very bold woman,' said he, 'to use such language to me: but I am not angry with you; your motives are good, you speak to me frankly, and this increases my esteem for you. Go and pacify my wife.'"

The king then went to his own apartment whither he had summoned Grumbkow, Mylius, the auditor-general, and Gerbett, who had been appointed fiscal-general, on the death of Katsch.

Katte was brought in, and fell at the feet of the king, who, in his rage, kicked him and struck him with his cane and his fists till he was covered with blood. Grumbkow besought him to moderate his passion, and to allow the prisoner to be examined. He immediately confessed all he knew respecting the prince's flight, and acknowledged himself to be his accomplice, declaring that they had formed no design whatever against the person of the king or against the state; that their only object had been to withdraw themselves from his anger, to retire to England, and to put themselves under the protection of that crown. Being questioned concerning the letters of the queen and the princess, he said that they had been sent back to them by the direction of the prince: and positively denied that the princess had any knowledge of their design. He confessed that he had been several times secretly at Potsdam to see the prince, and that lieutenant van Spän of the king's regiment, had introduced him in disguise into the town; that Keith was to have accompanied them in their flight, and that they had corresponded together. After this interrogatory, the effects of the prince and Katte were examined, but nothing of the least consequence was found either there or among the letters of the queen and the princess. The king's rage against the latter was not exhausted. He went to the queen. "I was right," cried he; "your worthless daughter is in the plot. Katte has confessed that he has returned letters from her to her brother. Tell her that she shall

have her room for her prison. I will order the guard to be doubled. I will have her strictly examined and send her to a place where she will have time to repent of her crimes." The queen obeyed this stern command with a flood of tears, and took an affectionate leave of her unfortunate daughter, who was carried in a sedan-chair through a concourse of people, which had collected before the palace, to her own chamber. The queen's apartments being on the ground floor and the windows open, the people had been spectators of this whole scene, which they could distinctly see and hear. As things are always exaggerated, a report got abroad that the princess was dead as well as her brother, which excited a strong sensation throughout the whole city, where general consternation prevailed.

The king had meanwhile ordered his son to be removed from Treuenbrietzen to Mittenwalde, near Berlin, where Grumbkow, Derschau, Mylius and Gerbett held a first examination. The appearance of the latter threw the prince into a great fright. Seeing him alight from the carriage in a red cloak, he took him for the executioner come to put him to the torture.

The commissioners found him sitting on an old chest for want of a chair; indeed, while there, the floor had been his only bed. The firmness and cheerfulness of his manner astonished Grumbkow, who expressed his surprize. "I trust," replied the prince, "that whatever happens to me, my spirit will always be superior to my misfortunes." He

went through the examination with calmness and patience, till Grumbkow so far forgot what was due to the heir-apparent to the throne as, on Frederick's refusal to answer some of the questions, to threaten him with the torture. "An executioner like you," replied the prince, "always delights in talking of his trade; but I fear your not: I have confessed every thing, and I now repent having done so, because I ought not to degrade myself by answering the interrogatories of such a wretch as you."

Among other questions put by Grumbkow, he asked: "Why would you have fled from the king your father." "Because he ill treated me." "Whither did you intend to go?" "To Algiers," was Frederick's sarcastic reply, which, being reported to his father, served not a little to increase his exasperation against the prince. Grumbkow thereupon advised him to give up his pride or he should find means to oblige him to do so. "I know not what you will do," answered Frederick, "but never will I humble myself to you." The fragments of the portfolio were produced, and he was asked if all the letters and papers which had been in it were still there. He replied that the letters were there, but that he saw several jewels, which he knew nothing of. During the whole of the examination, by the express command of the king, he was never called by any other name than that of colonel Fritz and his sister by that of Miss Wilhelmine. On the following day he was sent to the fortress of Cüstrin.

It was no doubt after this examination that Seckendorf thus wrote to his court. "As it clearly appears from the statement of the prince-royal that Hotham had a hand in the scheme of the prince's flight, the king has intimated through his minister to Guidekens the English resident, that he, the king of Prussia will hear no more of any marriage whether double or single, but will marry his children to whomsoever he pleases, and the king of England may do the same. The king has told me in confidence that if the prince, agreeably to his paternal admonition at Wesel, had confessed the truth and told him who were concerned in the affair, he would have let it pass off quietly; but as it was now blazoned over all Europe, he must, for the sake of his own honour, have a formal *species facti* drawn up, that the public may thence perceive that he has not given his son any legitimate cause for secretly withdrawing himself from the paternal authority."

The whole procedure of the king, though strongly indicative of his anger, seems indeed to have been too slow to denote a serious intention of putting the prince to death. A man of his vehement temper, if he had adopted so cruel a resolution, would not have talked so much about it or taken so many preparatory steps. It seems, on the contrary, as if his conduct in this affair was designed to operate as a warning and a punishment to the prince, the queen, and his family, and to show foreigners how deeply he resented and how re-

luctantly he forgave the disobedience of his children and offences against his majesty.

Meanwhile, the royal indignation was vented against all those who had any participation in the design of the prince, or who had been about his person. Katte, as well as the prince himself, was to be tried by a court martial. The younger Keith, after being for some time under arrest at Wesel, was placed as a private in the regiment of Mosel. Van Spaen was broke and sent for a year to Spandau, after which he entered into the Dutch service. Duhan, the prince's preceptor and Hanau his librarian were banished to Memel; and to his governors, count Finckenstein and colonel von Kalckstein, the king expressed his high displeasure that the system pursued by them in the prince's education had turned out so ill. Knyphausen, the minister, whose sentiments were known to favour the Hanoverian interest, was dismissed and exiled to his estate at Lietzen. He died soon afterwards; and his widow, who lived on a very intimate footing with general Kurt Schwerin, having become the mother of a child not born in wedlock, was obliged to pay a fine of 12,000 dollars. M. Bülow, formerly Prussian ambassador at Stockholm, and his sister, the first lady of honour to the queen, suspected of the same crime as Knyphausen, were exiled to Insterburg. Montolieu, one of the king's chamberlains, who had lent money to the prince-royal, lost his capital, and was fined a thousand ducats; and

when he soon afterwards secretly left Berlin and went to Leipzig, the king ordered Wagner, the fiscal general to institute proceedings against "baron Montolieu, as a base dishonest, runaway bankrupt, as a warning to others, and to hang him in effigy." To Lieberkühn, the goldsmith, who was also one of the prince's creditors, the king only said: "What have you too been dabbling with my son? I should not have thought it." His debt was not paid; but, many years after his accession to the throne, Frederick II. made some compensation to his son. After the seven years' war, several old-fashioned gold utensils were delivered to him for the purpose of making a table service out of them. Some of these articles were enriched with diamonds, and the goldsmith enquired what he was to do with them. "I recollect," replied Frederick, "that I am still in your debt; so keep the stones and we will be quits." The goldsmith was perfectly satisfied with this mode of payment: the value of the diamonds was about 2500 dollars. Gummersbach, the valet, was sent to Spandau; and Doris Ritter, the daughter of a singing master at Potsdam, whose musical talents had recommended her to the notice of the prince-royal, was ordered by the king "to be flogged first before the town-house, then before her father's house, then at every corner of the town, and afterwards confined for life in the house of correction at Spandau." Unluckily for this poor girl, says Thiébault, she had been taught to play the harpsichord, and if she was not much of a musician, yet she was

a valuable resource to Frederick, who had no other person at Potsdam to accompany him. Though young, being only sixteen, she was so plain that there was no fear of her inspiring the prince with the tender passion; she was moreover continually under the eye of her parents, with whom she lived. Frederick-William was informed that his son had passed several evenings at their house. Concluding that intrigue was the real object and music only a pretext, he resolved to employ decisive and violent means of breaking off the connexion. Without enquiry, without consulting any one, he subjected her to that ignominious punishment, to render it impossible for his son ever to meet her again. Her father also was deprived of his office. Doris was released after three years' imprisonment. She subsequently married a carrier in Berlin, and Frederick, after his accession to the throne, settled upon her a pension of 150 dollars. Frederick's library, consisting of between three and four thousand volumes, was sent to Hamburg, and there privately sold by Destinon the Prussian resident.

On the arrival of "the delinquent," "the runaway lieutenant-colonel Fritz," in Cüstrin, he was treated by the governor, major-general Löbel, with all the rigour enjoined by the king. For nine weeks he was confined in the citadel, like an ordinary criminal. The mean room which served for his prison had but one small window, so situated that he was in the dark the whole evening, no candle being allowed till supper time which was

seven o'clock. He was deprived of his attendants and of everything but what he had about his person. A wooden stool and a table were all his furniture, and the floor was his bed. A bible and hymn-book furnished his sole occupation, after his flute had been taken from him by the express command of his father. His food, prescribed by the king, was not to cost more than six groschen (9*d*) for dinner and four (6*d*) for supper; it was brought to him ready cut, for he was denied the use of knife and fork, so that he was obliged to help himself with his fingers. This harsh treatment had not conquered his spirit, when, on the 15th of September he underwent another examination before the same persons as at Mittenwalde. Their object apparently was to draw from him admissions tending to implicate the queen and the princess; but, disappointed in their object, they returned on the 17th to Berlin, without obtaining any further results.

An English biographer of Frederick's states that it was to prevent him from reading late that the king ordered his candles to be put out at eight o'clock precisely; and that, when the officer on duty came for the first time and executed this order without explanation, the prince, not apprised of his father's command, gave him in the first paroxysm of indignation a sound box on the ear—an indignity which the officer took so much to heart that he shot himself the next morning. As I have not found this story in any other writer, I am disposed to regard it as rather problematical: but all authorities

agree in praising the delicate attention of another officer to the unfortunate prisoner. This was captain Fouqué, in the sequel one of the most renowned of Frederick's generals. He belonged to the regiment of "the old Dessauer," whose favourite he was, and had the character of a brave soldier and a man of the strictest honour. On the recommendation of prince Leopold, he was placed about the prince-royal while at Cüstrin; and his extensive acquirements, the liveliness of his disposition, and his many social virtues, soon won the heart of the prisoner. Here, in the confinement which he voluntarily shared with the prince, he one night, when the officer on duty came to extinguish the candles of his royal highness, took from his pocket a couple of wax tapers and materials for striking a light. "Now comrade," said he, after lighting them, "you have put out his royal highness's candles; the king has issued no orders about captain Fouqué's, so I hope you will not meddle with them." In the course of this work I shall have frequent occasion to make honourable mention of this excellent officer.

The severity of Frederick's imprisonment was mitigated in some degree by the sympathy of other kind-hearted persons. M. Münchow, president of the chamber, endeavoured to lighten his situation as much as possible. The room in which Frederick was confined belonged to his official residence. As no person whatever was admitted to the prince, he contrived to make a hole in the floor of the room overhead, through which he assured him of his best

services and all the assistance that he could render. He had a night-chair made with a false bottom, in which he conveyed to the prince knife, fork, writing materials, letters, books and wax candles. His son, seven years old, was put again into petticoats, and in long pockets which were fastened about him, he carried fruit and pastry to the prince, slipping in whenever the door was opened. Here the boy was frequently shut up with Frederick for hours, and as he spoke a little French, he was an agreeable companion to him in his utter solitude. Münchow's sympathy was subsequently of still greater importance to the prince, when he cheered his desponding spirits, and dissuaded him from the execution of his intention to renounce the succession to the crown, as the price of liberty and a suitable pension, on which he purposed to retire to England.

Meanwhile a court-martial was assembled at Cöpenick to try the prince-royal and Katte. It was composed of lieutenant-general von der Schulenburg, the three major-generals Schwerin, Dönhoff, and Linger, the three colonels Derschau, Stedingk, and Waehholz, the three lieutenant-colonels Schenk, Weyer, and Milagsheim, majors Lestwitz, Einsiedel, and Lüderitz, captains Itzenplitz, Jeetz, and Podewils. It included also Mylius, Gerbett, and the auditor of the regiment of gensd'armes.

Thiebault asserts, but I am not disposed to place much confidence in his authority, that there had been another court-martial before this, of which the prince of Anhalt was president. He says that

when this court was just going to vote upon the question of Frederick's guilt and the sentence to be passed upon him, the president declared that upon his honour and conscience the prince did not deserve death, and that none of them had a right to condemn him. Then drawing his long sabre, he swore that he would lop off the ears of any one who should differ from him. The votes were collected, and the prince was unanimously absolved. Frederick-William, furious at this decision, appointed another court, composed only of docile and timid men, who would merely consult his will.

Certain it is that the decision of this court could not have been more favourable to the wishes of the monarch, whom nothing but blood appeared capable of satisfying. On the 25th of October, it pronounced sentence of death on the prince-royal, and adjudged Katte to be broke and confined to a fortress for life, on the ground of insufficient evidence, and because his crime had been only meditated and not committed. During the proceedings, it had been proposed to put the latter to the torture, with a view to oblige him to criminate the queen, but, through the influence of Seckendorf, who was related to him, he was spared this trial. Severe as was this sentence, it displeased the king, who arbitrarily annulled it and substituted the punishment of death in its stead—a resolution which he communicated to the court in the following singular letter in his own hand-writing:

"His Majesty has read the report of the court-

martial which has been sent to him, and is satisfied with it in all respects; and he hereby most graciously confirms the sentence pronounced against lieutenants van Spaen and Engelsleben, but pardons the latter on account of his long arrest. As for lieutenant Katte, and the sentence passed upon him by the court, his majesty is certainly not accustomed to increase, but, if possible, to mitigate the severity of the laws of war; but this Katte is not only in my service an officer in the army, but in the guard *gens-d'armes;* and as in the whole army all my officers must be true and faithful to me, so ought this to be especially the case with the officers of such regiments, as there is a great difference in regard to them, for they are immediately attached to his majesty's person and his royal house, to defend them from danger and injury, by virtue of an oath. But as this Katte has plotted with the future sun, along with foreign ministers and ambassadors, to desert, and his appointment was not given him for the purpose of plotting with the prince-royal, but on the contrary, he should have apprised his majesty and general field-marshal Natzmer of his designs; his majesty cannot conceive what shallow reasons have induced the court-martial not to pronounce sentence of death upon him. All criminals would take example from it, and think that, as Katte had got off so easily, they should be sure to do the same. His majesty went to school too in his youth, and learned this Latin proverb:—*Fiat justitia et pereat mundus!* We will, therefore, of right and justice,

though he by right deserves, as having committed the crime of high-treason, to be torn with hot pincers and hanged, yet, in consideration of his family, that he shall be put to death with the sword. When the court-martial shall signify his sentence to Katte, let him be told that his majesty is very sorry, but it is better that he should die than that justice should be banished from the world.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM."

"Wusterhausen,
"1st November, 1730."

When, on the 2nd of November, this cruel sentence was read to Katte, he neither changed colour nor appeared in any way affected by it. "I resign myself," said he, "to the decrees of the king and of Providence. I shall die in a glorious cause; and I look forward to death without fear, as I have nothing to reproach myself with." As soon as he was alone, he sent for Hartenfeld, one of the officers ordered to guard him, and who was also an intimate friend of his. He gave him the box containing the portraits of Frederick and his sister, painted by himself, saying, "Take this box, and keep it in remembrance of the unfortunate Katte; but show it to no one, lest it should do injury, after my death, to the illustrious persons whose portraits it contains." He then addressed the following letter to his majesty:

"It is not to justify myself or to excuse my conduct up to this time, or to prove my innocence by reasoning and argument—no—but it is unfeigned repentance and sorrow for having offended your majesty, which

impel me to lay at your feet, in all submission, the confession of the errors of my youth; my weakness, and my imprudence. My mind, which was guiltless of bad intentions, my heart which was full of affection and pity, and the mere folly of youth, are the things, my king, which most humbly plead for grace, mercy, and compassion. God, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, permits grace to take the place of justice, and through that grace brings the sinner, walking in the paths of error, back to his duty. Be pleased then, my king, to grant the same grace to me, as a sinner and a criminal who has transgressed against your majesty. The hope of restoring the tree which is partially decayed causes it to be spared and saves it from the flames. Why, then, should not the tree of my life, which already shows new shoots of loyalty and submission, find grace in the sight of your majesty? Why should it be cut down while still in its bloom, and not spared to show to your majesty and to the whole world what true loyalty and obedience are produced by grace and mercy? I have erred, O my king; I acknowledge it with a contrite heart; therefore pardon him who honestly confesses his fault, and grant to me what God has not denied to the greatest sinner. . . . . As many drops of blood as flow in my veins, so many shall attest the new loyalty and obedience which your grace and favour will produce. God's grace and goodness allow me to hope for his mercy, and so I do not despair. I, who implore and beseech, was once your disobedient vassal and subject, but am now

brought back to my duty by suffering and repentance. "KATTE."

He afterwards wrote to his grandfather, his father, and his brother-in-law. The letter to the first has been preserved, and is an interesting specimen of natural and touching pathos.

"Most honoured grandfather,—I cannot express to you the grief and agitation with which I write this. I, who have ever been the principal object of your cares—I, whom you destined to be the support of your family—I, whom you brought up in all those sentiments that were likely to make me useful to my king and country—I, who never quitted you without being honoured by your bounty and your counsels— I, who ought to have been the happiness and the consolation of your old age—it is I, wretch that I am, who am now the cause of your grief, the object of your despair. Instead of rejoicing you with good news, I am obliged to acquaint you with my condemnation to death, which has already been pronounced. Grieve not too much over my sad fate; we must submit to the decrees of the Almighty. If he tries us with adversity, he gives us also the strength to bear and the firmness to overcome it. With God nothing is impossible; he can send help when he chooses to do so. I put all my trust in the Supreme Being, who can still turn the heart of the king to clemency, and cause me to obtain as great a degree of favour as I now suffer of severity. If this be not the will of God, I will not the less praise and bless Him, persuaded that whatever He orders

will be for my good. Thus I resign myself with patience to whatever your influence and that of your friends can obtain from his majesty. I beg forgiveness of you a thousand times for my past faults; trusting that the good God who pardons the greatest sinners will have compassion upon me. I beseech you to follow his example towards me, and to believe me, &c.

"November 20, 1730."

The grandfather of the unfortunate young man, an old and distinguished servant of his sovereign, on receiving this touching appeal, lost no time in supplicating his majesty, not to pardon his unhappy relative, but merely to spare his life. His letter was as follows:—

"Your majesty will most graciously forgive the anxiety of my heart, which induces me to presume once more to present myself before you, and to inclose what the unfortunate Katte has sent me from his prison. It was owing to this cause that yesterday I most humbly took the liberty to send a memorial to your majesty, in the most humble hope that your majesty would be most graciously pleased to listen to the supplications of a very old man. But, most gracious king and sovereign, as the removal to-day of the unhappy young man renders me quite inconsolable, and it would be no wonder if I were to die of grief, my conscience obliges me once more to throw myself at your majesty's feet, and to repeat my prayer and supplication. I beg not for the pardon, but only for the life, of the unhappy man, that he may

have time to acknowledge and repent the fault which he has committed, and that his soul may be saved. The Almighty will, at my prayer, richly repay your majesty for the mercy granted to an old and afflicted man.

"Your majesty can do this without any violation of justice,—of that I am assured; and, were this not even the case, your majesty's hands are not bound, so that you can show mercy. Your majesty may, moreover, deem it worthy of consideration that I have so often risked life and limb in the service of the Roman empire, and that I have hitherto served your majesty truly and faithfully; that the father also of the unhappy man has likewise sought so often to sacrifice himself for the service of your majesty and your royal house, and that we should still be at all times ready to do so.

"I therefore live in the most humble hope that your majesty will be most graciously pleased to grant us a handful of blood, which could be of no use to your majesty, and for which we so earnestly pray, and not bring down my gray hair with so much sorrow to the grave. This I most humbly pray once more, and remain, with the most humble devotion,

"Your majesty's, &c.

"VON WARTENSLEBEN."

The inflexible monarch returned this answer:—

"My dear general field-marshal count Wartensleben.

"I have duly received your letter. I am heartily sorry that the misfortune has befallen lieutenant

Katte, as he is so nearly related to you. At the same time you well know what is due to such a crime, wherefore I shall explain myself no further than that it is better that one criminal should be sacrificed to justice than that the world or the kingdom should perish. In this case, then, I am not able to pardon, because the welfare of the whole country and of myself, as also of my family in future times, necessarily requires it; in which matter no person has a right to meddle, unless I myself command him.

"As, then, this man has entered so far into a plan for deserting with my son, and done all that he could to further it, and also striven to gain the ambassadors of foreign powers; in order to make the affair succeed, he has richly deserved to be torn with hot pincers; but in consideration of the general field-marshal and of lieutenant-general Katte, I have so far mitigated the punishment that he shall be beheaded, as a warning and example to others.

"I am

"Your most affectionate king,

"FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

"Wusterhausen,

"the 3d of November, 1730."

The day after Katte's condemnation was communicated to him, the chaplain of his regiment, named Müller, came to prepare him for death. The prisoner acknowledged that he was a great sinner; that, through ambition, and dazzled by the favour of the prince-royal, he had fallen into many errors, for which he now felt deeply penitent, that he had dis-

covered that all here below is vanity, and wished for death as the only way that leads to everlasting happiness. He then delivered a paper to the chaplain requesting him to give it after his death to the prince-royal.

A detachment of thirty men of his own regiment, under majors Schack and Asseburg and captain Holzendorf, was ordered to escort him on the 4th of November to Cüstrin, where his execution was to take place. Katte expressed some surprise at this intimation, but soon recovered his composure. The margravine of Bayreuth relates that he was conveyed to Cüstrin in a carriage; but, according to Thiebault, he was obliged, by the express command of the king, who was determined to make his punishment as ignominious as possible, to go the whole way on foot, in his prison dress, with his hands tied behind him. On the way, major Schack expressed his grief at having to execute such a commission, and told Katte that he had twice refused the melancholy office of being present at his execution, but had been forced to obey. The prisoner replied that he was content with his fate; that he died for a master whom he loved; and that it was a consolation to him to give, in his death, the strongest proof of attachment that could be expected of him. He added that he felt no regret in quitting this world, as he was confident that he was going to the enjoyment of endless happiness. On the evening of the 5th of November the party arrived at Cüstrin.

On that day, a coarse prison dress, like that worn

by Katte, had been put on the prince, and he had been removed by general Löbel and president Münchow from the room which he had hitherto occupied to another on a lower floor, looking into the court of the fortress. Here he found a bed prepared for him. The window-curtains were let down when he entered, so as to intercept the view of the court; they were suddenly drawn up, and, to his horror, a scaffold, hung with black, on a level with the windows, from which the bars had been removed, met his eye. Acquainted with the sentence of the court-martial, Frederick passed the night under the impression that these preparations had been made for his own execution; and, in the morning, it afforded but a slight relief to his feelings when he was summoned, by the king's express command, to witness that of his friend Katte.

Schack had, meanwhile, apprised Katte of the trying scene which he would have to encounter, and encouraged him to meet it with firmness. "Say rather," replied the prisoner, "that I am about to enjoy the greatest consolation that can be afforded me." Repentance for his own fault and inexpressible anxiety to save his friend's life sacrificed by it, wrung the soul of the unhappy prince. In the agony of his grief, he begged for a respite, if only for a single day, declaring himself ready to renounce his right to the crown if the king would pardon Katte. Münchow stopped his mouth with his handkerchief. The awful procession appeared. Katte, in the brown prison garb, accompanied by Müller and the minister

of Cüstrin, and surrounded by a company of soldiers, moved past. "Oh!" he exclaimed, when Katte was opposite to the window, "how miserable it makes me to think that I am the cause of your death! Would to God that I were in your place!"—"No," replied Katte, "if I had a thousand lives, how gladly would I lay them down for you!"

Katte ascended the scaffold with extraordinary fortitude. He would not suffer the executioner to blindfold him, and raising his eyes to heaven he ejaculated: "Into thy hands, O my God, I commend my spirit!" His head was severed at a single blow. Frederick had swooned as soon as he had spoken to his friend, and besides the execution could not have been seen from the window of his room; so that the statement of those who assert that he was obliged to look on at the awful scene is inaccurate. One of my authorities even says that, through the management, no doubt, of the prince's friends, Katte had been taken to the rampart, where, kneeling on a heap of sand, he firmly received the fatal stroke. His body was buried in one of the bastions of the fortress.

It was long before Frederick recovered from the shock of that morning. He sent for Müller, the chaplain, who had attended his friend in his last moments; he enquired what he had said, and how he had behaved; and received his dying bequest, the paper which he had commissioned the chaplain to deliver;—it was to this effect:—

"1. The prince-royal may, perhaps, think that I

consider him as the cause of my death, and that I die in anger with him, but that is not the case. I acknowledge that, for wise reasons, Divine Providence has decreed that these misfortunes should fall upon me, to bring me to true repentance, and to enable me to work out my salvation.

"2. The causes to which I attribute this chastisement of Heaven are, first, my ambition; and secondly, my neglect of the Almighty.

"3. I promise the prince-royal to pray for him before the throne of God.

"4. I beseech the prince-royal to banish from his heart any anger that he may feel against the king, his father, on account of my punishment; for he is not the cause of my death, since in this he is only the instrument of divine justice.

"5. The prince-royal ought not to think that this calamity has befallen me for want of prudence, but rather to recognize in it the hand of God, who confounds the wisdom of the wise.

"6. I entreat the prince-royal to submit to the will of his majesty; in the first place, because he is his father, and in the second, because he is his king.

"7. The prince-royal must remember what I said to him one day in Brandenburg on the submission which he owes to his father, referring to the example of Absalom.

"8. The prince-royal must remember that I remonstrated with him, in the strongest manner, first at the camp in Saxony, where we originally had the idea of absconding, and where I foretold what has

now happened; and secondly, more recently, one night when I called upon him in Potsdam.

"9. I again implore the prince-royal most solemnly, by the sufferings of Jesus Christ, to submit to his father's will; both on account of the promises contained in the fifth commandment, and also for fear of the law of retaliation, which might some day cause him to suffer the like vexations with his own children.

"10. I beseech the prince-royal to consider the vanity of human projects planned without God. The prince-royal's wish was to serve me, and to raise me to dignities and honours; see how these schemes are frustrated! I therefore beseech the prince-royal to take the law of God for the rule of his actions, and to try them by the test of His sacred will.

"11. The prince-royal ought to be certain that he is deceived by those who flatter his passions, for they have in view their own interests only, not his; and he ought, on the other hand, to consider as his true friends those who tell him the truth and oppose his inclinations.

"12. I implore the prince-royal to repent, and to submit his heart to God.

"13. Lastly, I implore the prince-royal not to believe in fatalism; but to acknowledge the providence and the hand of God in the minutest circumstances."

The king could not but be aware that this affair had made a great sensation, and therefore he addressed, on the 19th of September, a circular to all

the courts with which he was on friendly terms, informing them that "he had been compelled to secure the person of the prince-royal, because he had attempted secretly to escape for the purpose of repairing to foreign courts; and that an inquiry into the matter was then going forward. As soon as it was finished he should not fail to make public the whole transaction."

The fate of the prince excited universal sympathy, not only at home but also abroad. Letters with intercessions for him were addressed to Frederick William by the king of Sweden, the landgrave of Hesse, the king of Poland, and by the emperor himself. We have seen that the court-martial assembled at Cöpenick delivered to the king, on the 1st November, the sentence passed upon the prince, which decreed death. Generals Dönhoff and Linger alone had voted for a milder punishment. Neither the tears and lamentations of the queen and the royal children, nor the applications and remonstrances of the foreign ambassadors, in the name of their respective courts, made any impression on the king. But when men whom he highly respected—men of honour, veteran warriors, and members of his smoking party, prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, field-marshal Natzmer, and major-general Buddenbrock—declared to the king that "his majesty had no right to take away the life of the electoral prince of Brandenburg, without a formal public trial before the emperor and the empire;" and Buddenbrock, in a paroxysm of generous excitement,

bared his bosom, and exclaimed, "If your majesty must have blood, take mine; his you shall not have while I am able to speak;"—the king became more calm. He declared, indeed, that he had no need to care about either the emperor or the empire, and that if these were to forbid the execution of the electoral prince of Brandenburg, they should not prevent him from doing what he pleased with the prince-royal of Prussia in his sovereign kingdom. The resolute protest, however, of such distinguished persons was not without effect.

Count Seckendorf, who had now attained his object, that of crushing the English party for ever, warmly interested himself in behalf of the prince. On the 1st of November, the same day on which sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he transmitted to the king a letter written with the emperor's own hand, dated the 11th of October. It was as follows:—

"Your majesty is, I hope, so thoroughly convinced of the affection and friendship which I bear to you and to your whole royal house, that you will not doubt my sympathy in the vexation occasioned you by the conduct of the prince-royal. I have no doubt that there must have been very sufficient reasons to induce your majesty to proceed with so much severity against the prince; still I cannot refrain, on account of the real friendship which exists between us, from interfering with your majesty in his behalf, and requesting that you would rather lean to mercy than justice in an affair in which the heart of your

majesty must be so deeply involved. Herein I seek nothing but what appears to me to tend to the tranquillity of your majesty, in which I am particularly interested; and I will hope that, by the extension of such grace, the heart of the prince-royal will be so changed, that he will in future entertain such intentions only as are conformable with your majesty's desires. And, though he may not perhaps be as yet sufficiently convinced of the love and affection which I bear to your royal house, still I trust that he will perceive in this friendly interference, which proceeds from the sincerest affection for your majesty and your family, the warmth of my sentiments for you. I do, indeed, believe that the welfare of both houses depends on their constant good understanding and union."

This letter was accompanied by one from Seckendorf himself, in which he proposed a plan of treatment for the prince; and its entire adoption by Frederick William shows what extraordinary confidence he placed in that minister. He recommended to the king to require the prince to take an oath that for the time to come he would submit, without reserve, to his father's will; to forbid him to leave the town of Cüstrin, and to employ him in the Chamber of War and Domains there; to make him furnish exact accounts of his expenses; and to place about him tried officers, to watch his proceedings, and to make private reports accordingly.

The king was desirous, above all, to produce in his son that entire submission to his will, which

appeared to him just as indispensable as military subordination in a soldier. Grumbkow, his minister, considered this a fair opportunity for laying the queen and her party under obligation, and prevailed upon the king to make him the mediator for inducing the prince royal to solicit pardon of his father. In a secret interview with the queen, he offered her his assistance in obtaining forgiveness for her son; and then executed the king's commission, by going to the prince at Cüstrin, without his father's knowledge, as he pretended, and advising him to write to his majesty, assuring him that he repented his errors, and humbly begging the king to receive him again into his favour. Thus, in this case, intrigue strove to run away with that reward which the straightforward honesty and frankness of faithful subjects had earned. Notwithstanding the agonised state of his mind, Frederick, in fact, misdoubted this messenger of peace, till the recollection of his afflicted mother and sister induced him to pen the following letter:-

"Most illustrious and most gracious father,—I confess that I have given your majesty, my most gracious father, cause for just anger and displeasure, by my disobedience as your subject and soldier, and by my undutifulness as your son. With the most humble respect, I submit myself entirely to the mercy of my most gracious father, and entreat him most graciously to pardon me, since not so much the loss of my liberty in an unhappy arrest, as my own reflexions on the offence which I have committed,

have brought me to reason. With the most humble respect and submission, I remain while I live," &c.

Undoubtedly this epistle was the free effusion of a contrite heart, since a man personally so repulsive to the prince as Grumbkow could decide him to write it.

Müller, the worthy chaplain, who attended his friend Katte in his last moments, was, in the next place, the instrument of that change of disposition which manifested itself in Frederick during the days that he passed with the prince in Cüstrin. Shocked by the sight of his friend, oppressed by the fear of death and the painful feeling of uncertainty, Frederick desired the society of the man who, when the unfortunate Katte was on the threshold of eternity, seemed to have imparted to his soul peace, courage, and confidence. His father had foreseen this result; for, so early as the 3rd of November, he had charged Müller "to visit the prince-royal immediately after Katte's execution, and to exhort him to repent, and to beg forgiveness for the many sins which he has committed, and into which he has led others, one of whom has just been punished with death."

We have seen that the chaplain called upon Frederick in performance of this commission; but, extreme agitation of mind having caused a fresh fainting fit, Müller retired. In the afternoon he was sent for, and, on leaving, obliged to promise to come again in the evening. The prince's conversations with the chaplain breathed sorrow, repentance, and entire submission to the king's will. His father wanted convincing proofs of his son's amendment;

and these were furnished by the five reports transmitted by Müller. For three days, the prince, ignorant of his father's intentions, concluded that the chaplain had been ordered to render the same service to him that he had done to his dying friend; and agonizing uncertainty respecting his fate, and the fear of death, produced such profound melancholy and despondency, that his spiritual monitor concludes his second report to the king, dated November 8th, with this earnest entreaty: "Now, I most humbly beseech your majesty to open your paternal heart to kindness and mercy towards the prince-royal, and to inform him of your intentions as soon as possible, lest the profound melancholy which overwhelms him should occasion his death." In his third letter, Müller expresses himself on this subject in still stronger terms: "As I can assure your majesty, before God, that in the various marks of repentance and compunction manifested by the prince-royal there is not the slightest trace of dissimulation, I most humbly beseech you to have recourse to mercy, in imitation of Almighty God, and to shed a ray of your royal clemency upon the prince; for I am still apprehensive lest the idea and the terror of the misfortunes which may still befall him, as well as his melancholy, which increases daily, may produce some dreadful mental malady, of which it may be impossible to cure him."

The king now thought it time to communicate his intentions, through the chaplain, to his son; which

he did in the following truly characteristic letter, dated the 9th of November:—

"I have received your two reports; and I order you, in answer, to remain at Cüstrin till further orders, and to go regularly to the prince royal, and continue to convince and exhort him by the word of God to search his heart; to confess from the bottom of it all the sins that he has committed, whether against God or against me, who am his father and his king, or against himself and his own honour, and to be penitent for them. For, to borrow money without being able to repay it, and to try to desert, are not the actions of an honest man; such actions can only proceed from hell and from children of the devil, and not from children of God. You write to me that you believe in your conscience and before Heaven that the prince is converted to God; that he begs pardon a thousand times of his king, his lord and father, for all his crimes; and that he repents with all his heart not having been always obedient to the will of his father. If you still find the prince-royal in these dispositions; if he promises all these things before God; if he repents with all his heart of the faults that he has committed, and is firmly resolved to amend in the manner which you have stated to me, you will declare to him, in my name, that, though I cannot entirely forgive him, I will mitigate the severity of his confinement, and place about him persons to watch his conduct. He shall have the whole town for his prison; but not be allowed to go beyond it.

I shall give him abundant occupation for the whole day in the Chamber of War, Domains, and Administration. He will have to attend to matters of finance, to read the documents, and to make extracts from them. But, before I grant him this grace, I shall require of him a solemn oath to conform exactly and with submission to all my orders and to all my wishes; and to do every thing, without exception, that it is the duty of a faithful servant and an obedient son to do. But if he relapses into his faults, and resumes his old courses, he shall be deprived of the succession to the throne and the electoral dignity; and, if the nature of his crimes requires it, be even condemned to death.

"You will tell him to be patient till all is ready for this new arrangement, when I shall send lieutenant-generals Grumbkow, Borck, and Röder, major-general Buddenbrock, colonels Waldow and Derschau, and privy councillor Thulemeier to him, to receive his oath.

"I recommend to you, on the present occasion, to assure the prince that I know him well; and that, if he has ever thought I did not know him, he shall now, at least, be convinced that I know the wickedness of his heart. Thus, if he is not really submissive and changed, but in the same disposition as before, he will, perhaps, try to repeat the aforesaid oath in a low voice, and in an indistinct manner. On this point, tell him from me, that, as a friend, I advise him to pronounce this oath aloud and distinctly, and to be assured that he will be held before

God to observe it to the letter. Impress it upon him that no mental reservation can be allowed, but that he will be held exactly to what is written; that, therefore, if he breaks this oath, or deviates from it in the least, he will not be excused for it. He must bear this always in mind, and strive earnestly to overcome, with the assistance of God, the perverse inclinations of his heart, because this is a very weighty and important affair.

"May the Almighty God give his blessing; and as he often uses extraordinary ways and means, and severe tribulations, to bring back men to the kingdom of Christ, may our Saviour grant that this disobedient son may be brought back to his fellowship, and that his wicked heart may be softened, melted, and changed, and rescued from the clutches of Satan! The Almighty God and Father grant this, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his sufferings and death. Amen!

"I am, for the rest, your affectionate king,

"FR. WILLIAM.

"Wusterhausen, November 9, 1730."

Müller, in his next letter, reports the manner in which Frederick received the intimations of the king. "As soon as he learned your majesty's intentions, he was so touched with this mark of your paternal and royal goodness, that tears came into his eyes, and he said, 'Is this possible? or have you only been desired to say so to me?' At these words, I took from my pocket your majesty's order, and put it into his hands to read. When he had read it, he told me that he was

touched in all humility with the goodness of your majesty, and that he would conform entirely to your orders. He added, that, with regard to an oath, he was aware of all the importance of taking it; that he knew he could make no mental reservation; that he must swear and promise according to the intention of those who prescribed the oath, and understand it in the manner in which they meant it to be understood. 'I am resolved,' said he, 'never to break it, and to pronounce it distinctly, and with a loud voice. But though I have a firm conviction that, in the formula which his majesty will prescribe to me there will be nothing but what is paternal, and possible for me to execute, still, as in an affair of such importance I should wish not to act without serious reflexion, I will ask his majesty, before he sends the commissioners, to deign to permit me to see the formula and the articles which it contains, that I may do nothing without due consideration, and that I may be able to prepare myself, with the utmost possible sincerity, to promise and fulfil all the articles.'

"In order that I, too, may fulfil my duty towards the prince-royal, and strengthen him more and more in his good resolutions, I humbly beseech your majesty to send him beforehand this formula and these articles."

But, though Frederick William had made up his mind to forgive his son, he could not help resenting the conduct of those honest and honourable men who had dared to form a judgment in opposition to his own. Seckendorf, in a report dated the 11th of

November, says, "At the public table, the king, in very harsh terms, expressed his displeasure to Generals Schwerin and Dönhoff, on account of the votes given by them at the court-martial held on the prince-royal, and said that he thought he had selected honest men, and such as would not forget their duty, and worship the rising sun, but consult their conscience and the king's honour only; but now he had learned to know them better, since they had shown the cloven foot, and wished to save the life of the perjured Katte, who, as guilty of high treason, had deserved a hundred deaths. The cause of this infidelity to him could be no other than that they were looking forward to future times, and so wanted to make the design of the prince-royal and his accomplices pass, in the eyes of the whole world, for a mere child's play, not deserving of any severe punishment. He declared, however, that occasion would occur for annihilating all those who carried on both shoulders, and chose to take part with his children against himself."

After Müller had gained the prince's confidence, so that, at his desire, he even lodged in the room above that which served for Frederick's prison, so that the latter could tap for him whenever he wished to see him; after he had in daily conversations corrected his religious notions, awakened and confirmed his faith in the wise providence of God, and impressed upon him the fundamental truths of Christianity and their salutary effects on the heart, so that he could confidently assure the king that his son was totally changed, he was ordered to Wusterhausen, to report personally to his majesty.

On the 19th, a commission, consisting of the persons mentioned by the king, repaired to Cüstrin. In their presence, Frederick pronounced, and afterwards signed, the prescribed oath. General Löbel delivered to him his sword and order. On the following day, which was Sunday, he was released from arrest, attended divine service in the church, and received the sacrament. In the afternoon, he took possession of the house prepared for his residence; and the persons who were to constitute his future establishment were introduced to him. These were M. Wolden, as steward; and Messrs. Natzmer and Rohwedel, as gentlemen of his household; two pages, a valet, and four lacqueys. Though pardoned by his father, he was not yet re-admitted into the military service. Instead of uniform, he wore a light gray coat, with narrow silver lace. He was expected to make himself intimately acquainted with the business of the Chamber of War and Domains, of which M. Hille was president; and to attend all the meetings, and take an active part in all the transactions of that college, in which he was to sit below the youngest member. It was to depend on his future conduct whether he should soon be received again into the circle of the royal family, and whether the king would entirely forgive and forget the offences which had well nigh brought the misguided youth to the scaffold.

During this close imprisonment, the state of Frederick's mind varied from youthful defiance to utter despondency; of both he was cured by Müller,

whose services on this occasion cannot be estimated too highly. With him the prince disputed, sometimes for hours together, on theological subjects; and he manifested an intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of the reformed church. Müller lent the prince, at his request, a small hand-concordance; when it was returned, he found upon the back a drawing, in pencil, representing a man on his knees, with two crossed swords over his head, and underneath these words of Psalm lxxiii., 25, 26: "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee. My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever." When, after divine service, on the day of the prince's release, Müller took leave of Frederick, before he set out for Wusterhausen, agreeably to the king's directions, he asked his royal highness if he had any commands for his father. "Say," he replied, "that I am deeply affected by my father's goodness, and request him to send me a belt for my sword." The king received the chaplain most graciously: he had to give him the most minute particulars concerning Katte, as well as the prince, and concluded with mentioning the commission of the latter. "What!" exclaimed the king, with delight, "is Fritz a soldier? Well, that is right!"

The worthy president Münchow, who, with his family, incurred no slight responsibility by striving to procure for him, during his confinement, all the alleviations that lay in his power, asked Frederick how, when he became king, he should treat those who had

shown themselves his enemies? "I will heap coals of fire upon their heads," replied the prince; and he kept his word; for none of those whom he knew to have passed a harsh judgment upon him ever experienced his resentment.

On the 20th of November, Frederick William, who had delayed answering the letter of the emperor till he could inform him, at the same time, that he had pardoned the prince, wrote to Charles VI., thanking him for his sympathy in the affair of his son. He even paid him the compliment of assuring him that "he (the prince) has solely to thank your imperial majesty, who has been pleased to interfere in his favour; since it is this alone which has caused me to pardon him." By the advice of Seckendorf, Frederick himself was induced to address the following letter to the emperor:—

"Most beloved and most highly honoured cousin. —Your imperial majesty will, I trust, permit me to return, through these few lines, my most grateful thanks for your very powerful intercession with the king, my father, as I have to ascribe to this most benevolent interference of your imperial majesty the pardon which I have obtained from my father; I shall strive while I live, to the utmost of my power, to give your imperial majesty such sincere and convincing proofs of my grateful and dutiful devotion, and true German and patriotic zeal for your majesty and your archducal house, that you may never be compelled, either now or in future, to withdraw from me your most valued affection. I have the honour to

be, with all the consideration due to so great an emperor, and the most perfect esteem unalterably, your imperial majesty's most obedient and most truly devoted cousin,

"FREDERICK."

"Cüstrin, December 5th, 1730."

Notwithstanding the change in Frederick's condition, his sister was still kept a close prisoner in her bed-room. "One day," she says, "when madame de Sonsfeld and I were at table, looking sorrowfully at one another, having nothing for dinner but broth made of water and salt, and a stew of old bones, full of hairs and dirt, we heard something knocking hard against the window. We rose hastily, in surprise, to see what it was. It proved to be a rook, with a piece of bread in his beak, which, as soon as he saw us, the bird laid down on the window-sill and flew away. The tears started into our eyes 'Our lot is indeed deplorable,' said I to my gouvernante, 'since it touches animals not endued with reason; they have more compassion upon us than men, who treat us with such cruelty. Let us take this for an omen of a change in our situation.' However, there was nothing but what was perfectly natural in this affair. It was a tame rook belonging to margrave Albert, which had missed its way, and was seeking its lodging. My attendants, nevertheless, thought the circumstance so wonderful that it was soon circulated all over the city; and it excited in the French colony such pity for my distress that, at the risk of incurring the king's resentment, they sent me every day something

to eat in baskets, which they set down before my wardrobe, and which Mermann (the princess's attendant) took care to empty. This kindness and the zeal which they manifested in behalf of my brother have excited in me so high an esteem for that nation, that I have made a point of relieving and patronising persons belonging to it whenever I had occasion."

Frederick now commenced a new life in Cüstrin. The habits of industry into which he was initiated in early youth proved of great service to him in his new avocation, and gradually regained him the confidence of the king. Hille, the director, and Hünike, councillor of the Chamber of War and Domains, were his instructors in finance and administration; and the knowledge which he acquired under them proved in the sequel of infinite benefit to his country.

For half a year the king caused his son to be closely watched. Wolden was required to report weekly on the proceedings of each day; but Frederick was not allowed to write to his father oftener than once a month. The king had prescribed the occupations in which he was to be engaged, and would not suffer any remission of them in his favour. On one occasion, when Hille transmitted to his majesty three official reports, he intimated that two had been copied by the prince-royal with his own hand, but the third he had only signed. The king made this remark on the margin: "It is not enough for Fritz to sign; he must work himself."

CHAPTER XII.

Count Seckendorf.—His Influence over the King of Prussia.—Supposed Plan of Matrimonial Alliance between the Prince-Royal and an Austrian Princess.—Declaration of the Prince-Royal on that Subject.—Grumbkow's Reply to it.—Seckendorf's Report respecting it.—Letters illustrative of Frederick's Habits and Sentiments at Cüstrin.—He is visited there by the King.—Grumbkow's Account of the Interview.—The King forgives and restores his Son to Favour.—New Instructions for his Conduct.—His Solicitude to humour his Father's Tastes.—Family of Wreech, of Tamsel.—Marriage of the Princess Wilhelmine.—Frederick is permitted to visit Berlin on the Occasion.—His altered Appearance and Manner.—He is re-admitted into the Army.—His Correspondence with Grumbkow.—The King chooses the Princess of Bevern for the Consort of the Prince.—His Dislike of her.—Grumbkow severely rebukes his Inconsistency.—Anxiety of Austria to keep him in Dependence by Advances of Money.—He returns to Berlin, and the King gives him the Regiment of Goltz.

As a clever diplomatist, and a devoted servant of the house of Austria, Seckendorf was not satisfied with controlling the present, and keeping the reigning king of Prussia under the influence of the imperial court; he was equally solicitous to extend that influence to the future. Hence he strove, at an early period, to gain the prince-royal, as though he had a presentiment that in Frederick a hero would arise to demand satisfaction for so many affronts offered by the house of Austria to that of Brandenburg, and to shake off its intolerable yoke.

Seckendorf had been on the best terms with the king so early as the year 1715, when he commanded the Saxon troops in Pomerania with the rank of lieutenant-general. Frederick William consulted him in all important undertakings. He recommended himself to the king not more by his military experience than by his personal qualities; and the letters addressed to him by the Prussian monarch, many of them in his own hand-writing, from 1715 to 1736, upwards of three hundred of which are preserved among Seckendorf's papers at the family seat of Meuselwitz, in Saxony, soon breathed a tone of familiarity, such as few were honoured with.

During his residence as imperial ambassador at the court of Berlin, he never quitted the person of the king, even in his journeys. Thus, as we have seen, he was in his retinue when the prince-royal made his abortive attempt at escape, his report of which has been presented to the reader. It was Seckendorf, too, who procured the powerful intercession of the imperial court in Frederick's favour, and who proposed to the king the plan which he adopted for the future treatment of his son. From this period he contrived, by the pretence of an extraordinary sympathy on the part of the imperial house, completely to master the king, but also to render himself indispensable as a friend and protector to the prince-royal. To make himself intimately acquainted with all that the prince did, thought, and wrote, not only in his prison, but also during his residence in Cüstrin, he obtained from general Grumbkow, who had

sold himself to him, all the reports sent to the king and to Grumbkow by Hille, director of the Chamber of War and Domains, and Wolden, steward of his household, which furnish many curious and interesting particulars concerning Frederick's abode at Cüstrin, from the 4th of February, 1730, to the 10th of February, 1732.

The court of Vienna has been charged by some writers with having harboured an idea of prevailing upon Frederick to turn Catholic, and marrying him to one of the Austrian archduchesses. According to Seckendorf's correspondence with the emperor and prince Eugene, printed among the supplementary matter to Förster's "Life of Frederick William," this notion appears to be quite unfounded. That such a scheme had been broached is very certain, but it does not appear by whom; and it furnished the subject of a very remarkable paper, drawn up by command of the prince-royal, during his residence at Cüstrin, by M. Hille, who was roused from bed, at midnight, for the purpose. It was written in French, and headed,

"DRAFT OF DECLARATION OF THE PRINCE-ROYAL.

"His royal highness having considered that since his misfortunes he has in vain endeavoured to regain the good graces of the king, his father, by a blind submission to his commands, though he has found himself reduced to the level of the private individuals of a small town, both with respect to his way of living and his occupations; and believing that, notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding his oath,

doubts are still entertained of the sincerity of his intentions, and it is supposed that he still has secret views disagreeable to the king, relative to his marriage; he begs leave to declare to lieutenant-general de Grumbkow that not only has he no such views, and if he ever had that he renounces them most sincerely; but that he will enter into the views of the king, if, as he has been told, his majesty has any in regard to Austria, provided that he is not required to change his religion, which he protests before God he never will do for any human consideration, of what importance and nature soever it may be.

"His royal highness has made this overture in confidence to M. de Grumbkow, as the one of the king's ministers, with the uprightness of whose intentions respecting himself and the real interests of his house he is acquainted. He requests him, in case he knows that the king has no such views, or if the project is impracticable, to have the goodness to say nothing about it, unless he thinks that it might serve to soothe the mind of his majesty, and to procure for him milder treatment, since he studies even to guess the wishes of his majesty, in order to conform to them.

"As, in such situations as that in which his royal highness finds himself, the least light awakens hopes, so he looks upon this affair as not impossible. The imperial court, thinking no more of the duke of Lorraine, and having no other papist prince deserving of its attention, could not, in his opinion, make a better choice than in a house which maintains, in its own

dominions, an entire toleration in religious matters; and if England, inseparable from the United Provinces, were bound still more than it is by a marriage with the princess-royal, his royal highness thinks that the pragmatic sanction of the emperor would rest upon foundations so solid that there would be no need to care for contradictions.

"As, however, he foresees that the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria and those of Prussia united together would affect the balance of Europe too much, and might produce jealousies and even oppositions, he would be willing to renounce the latter in favour of his brother, as soon as the affair should be concluded, and sufficient to live with dignity during the life of the emperor should be assigned to him. We, the undersigned, attest that his royal highness, Monseigneur, the prince-royal of Prussia, ordered M. Hille to write the whole of the above to general de Grumbkow.

"WOLDEN. NATZMER. ROHWEDEL."

"Cüstrin, the 11th of April, 1731."

Grumbkow, in his answer to Hille, expressed his utter astonishment at such a plan. "I send you back the paper," says he, "begging you, upon your honour, to burn it in the presence of the prince-royal and of those who signed it; since, if there was any idea of it here, it might cost me and all concerned very dear. The king," he proceeds, "has the most sinister ideas of the character of the prince-royal, on which subject he explained himself at length to me yesterday:—1. He thinks him a superlative dis-

sembler:—2. He is persuaded that the prince-royal never loved him; but the very contrary, or something worse:—3. That he is as happy as a king at Cüstrin, merely because he is not with him; hating everything like fatigue and labour:—4. For the rest, he thinks that anything is sure to please him provided that it is disliked by the prince-royal. And when one mildly tries to instil into him other notions and less harsh interpretations, he will reply:—'Hold, when I see him coming, at the distance of thirty paces, I shall discover by his look what is in his heart; so that he must fancy that I am a wizard'—and a thousand other things. You see, we must endeavour to remove these impressions, and to this end M. Wolden must second me in his reports by stating that the prince-royal grows more and more dejected at seeing no end to his misfortunes and disgrace; and that he fears this may, before long, produce a mischievous impression upon his temper.

The only thing we ought to aim at, is, to contrive that the prince-royal should merely for once see the king. If we can bring this about, all will go well; but if we fail, then God alone can enable us to find some favourable issue; but let us do humanely all we can, and then we have nothing to reproach ourselves with. . . . 'A certain person might die suddenly, and then we should be at our ease. But, for God's sake, no more schemes."

In his answer to the plan itself, Grumbkow expresses himself with great feeling, and I see no reason to doubt his sincerity. "I am sorry from my

heart," says he, "for the melancholy situation of the prince-royal. God, who is the searcher of hearts, is my witness that I think, night and day, of expedients for improving it, and the greatest part of my blood should be spilt with pleasure, if I could but see the happy moment when the king should restore his paternal affection and confidence to the prince-royal. But the accompanying declaration would be of no use; on the contrary, it would embitter the mind of the king to the utmost. Never did it enter the mind of the imperial court to think of contracting such a marriage, totally contrary to its interests, and to the peace of Europe; and, as for the king, I verily believe that he would have any man hanged who was his subject, if he should merely broach such an idea. Besides, the whole system of this marriage is vicious; for never will an archduchess marry a prince who is not a stanch Catholic; and, in the second place, the renunciation of the prince-royal would be considered as being no better than such renunciations in general are, and which are kept no longer than the parties are forced to keep them. Again, I have never heard that the imperial court had given up thinking of a prince of Lorraine; for if it is not to be the duke, there is every reason to believe that the choice will fall upon prince Charles, the younger brother of the reigning duke." Grumbkow repeats his former remark, that, in regard to the prince-royal, the chief object should be to devise expedients to induce the king to see him for once, adding: "I know the heart of the king; and if it comes to that, I am sure his

affection will be manifested in such a manner as will surprise his royal highness. I hope and flatter myself that this will be burnt."

A letter from Seckendorf to prince Eugene gives some further curious particulars relative to the supposed project of an Austrian marriage. "Grumbkow and I," says he, "are of opinion that these are snares laid for us both by the prince-royal, by the advice, or at least with the knowledge of the queen. For, shortly before this plan was transmitted to Grumbkow, there came a letter to me without date, in which the writer, who calls himself Gotthelf Fleischmann, gives the following intimation: that, having heard that the king of Prussia wished, for divers weighty reasons, to induce the prince-royal to embrace the Catholic religion, he could address to me a very learned person who could, with certainty, divest the prince of his religious scruples, and instil into him Catholic principles. My answer was to be directed to an advocate at Erfurt, named Leichner. As it was very soon afterwards that Grumbkow received the project and communicated it to me, I showed him the letter from Erfurt, and we were both led to conclude the existence somewhere of a desire to ascertain whether the king of Prussia ever had or still entertained a design to solicit an archduchess for the prince-royal. Both of us deemed it advisable not to inform the king of the matter, lest his mind, already irritated, might be still more incensed against the prince."

Förster remarks that Seckendorf's conjecture that

the letters from Cüstrin and Erfurt were only a trap laid by the queen and the prince-royal was destitute of all probability; he thinks that the scheme originated with neither the court of Berlin nor that of Vienna, but with the Jesuits, labouring independently for themselves; a notion, perhaps, as far from the truth as the other.

The correspondence of Hille, and the gentlemen placed by his father about the prince-royal, contains many characteristic and interesting traits. Thus Hille observes, that "his being called up at night, and the air of mystery assumed in penning the project of the Austrian marriage were to be attributed solely to the whims of that petty politician Natzmer, who makes me laugh at his chimeras of embassies and negotiations; nay, I believe that he suggested the whole speculation."

Wolden writes in April, 1731:—"It is very necessary that his majesty should give the prince-royal a little more occupation. The Chamber does not furnish him with sufficient, having learned all that can be learned theoretically in economy; and I challenge Mr. President himself to draw up a better statement than our illustrious scholar. As for the rest of us belonging to the convent, we shall pine ourselves to death if this kind of life continues much longer. The mind is always agitated and uneasy on account of the great responsibility; and the body suffers along with it. Some time since, we consulted M. Stahl on the state of our health, and for our only consolation he sent us black hellebore, a medicine

usually given to people who are going mad; which is a very bad omen for us, if M. Stahl has acted from a kind of presentiment. However, we resign ourselves entirely to Providence, hoping that it will support our good cause, which we judge to be so, on account of the implicit obedience that we pay to the commands of his majesty. The rest depends not on us."

"As for the prince," writes Hille, in the following month, "he is willing to continue his present course of life, and to await, with resignation, what Providence shall ordain for him. If it is the will of his father that he should marry sooner or later, he trusts, in his goodness, that he shall be allowed to choose like his sister, having much stronger reasons for it." And again:—"Good God! what a misfortune will it be, if an attempt should be made to force the inclination of the prince, who is by no means disposed to choose before he has seen, and to buy a pig in a poke, like his sister."

These remarks seem to have been suggested by a letter from his majesty, dated the 25th of May, quoted by Wolden in his next communication to Grumbkow. "'As for the sixty dollars for house-rent,' says the king, 'I have given orders for them to be sent to you; but the wood you must buy out of the money saved.' "This," observes the writer, 'is a bad omen. 'For the rest,' continues his majesty, 'tell my son to reflect on what he has done, and to think of God. Let him accustom himself to lead a quiet life, for if I had done what he has done, I

should be ashamed to death to let any one see my face. I wish him to do my will alone, to drive all French and English stuff out of his head, to be nothing but Prussian and faithful to his father, to have a German heart, and to put away, from his heart all *petit-maîtres*, all French, political, and accursed falsehood; and, on the other hand, to pray earnestly to God for his grace, never to lose sight of Him, and then God will direct every thing for his temporal and eternal advantage. He should also be informed that, in four weeks or perhaps less, his eldest sister is to be married to the son of the margrave of Bayreuth, consequently there is a decided rupture with England; and, in case I think fit, he too shall marry a princess, who is not of the English family; but he shall have the choice of several, which you may tell him, and I am your affectionate king.'

"The prince," adds Wolden, "has taken this as he ought to take it; I mean to say, with entire resignation to Providence, and with implicit submission to the will of his majesty." "It is certain," writes Hille, just about the same time, "that those who suspect the prince of not loving his father and his family are very wrong. It would be astonishing if, in this case, he had not dropped something in the violent and wearisome state in which he is; but never has he even complained, unless that he had been treated rather as an officer of one of the king's regiments than as prince-royal; and this, too, while laughing and joking. For the rest, the uniformity of our life and occupations begins to annoy him; and I fear that

if it lasts, he will lose his cheerfulness, and become gloomy and reserved, which would be a great pity. In appearance you would find him much changed; he has a firm, easy step, and I no longer perceive that air of *marquis* which he had formerly."

The establishment of the prince at Cüstrin must have been on a most economical scale, for Wolden mentions that the king allowed 221 dollars 6 groschen (about £35 English) per month, for his household, including horse-fodder, rent, the keep of eight servants, wood, candles, washing, &c. "It is very little," he adds; "but we will strive to make both ends meet."

Of Frederick's tastes, as described by himself in a conversation with Hille, the latter gives the following account:—"He thereupon drew a picture of the little establishment he would have, and in what manner he would dress, that is to say, always in uniform, but he would wear magnificent surtouts. I then turned the conversation to his pleasures, and he very frankly entered upon the subject. 'I assure you—but don't mention it—that the greatest of my pleasures is reading; I am fond of music, but much fonder of dancing. I hate hunting, but like riding on horseback. Were I king, I would do all this as fancy dictated; but I would devote a great part of my time to business. I would take care, moreover, to have my table suitably and delicately supplied, but without profusion. I would have good musicians, but few of them, and never at meals, for music is a recreation that prevents me from eating. I would

dine alone and in public, but at supper I would have my friends about me and treat them well.'" We shall see, hereafter, how closely Frederick adhered to this plan which he had thus early chalked out for himself.

"Wolden bears this testimony to his character at this time: "With the penetration that he possesses, he is capable of anything. I can assert that the residence at Cüstrin has not been disadvantageous to him; for not only has adversity formed his heart and mind, but he begins to have a correct idea of many things of which he had not the least knowledge before. Let God but grant a few years more to his majesty till the prince comes to maturity, and then I would lay any wager that he will be one of the greatest princes that the house of Brandenburg has produced. The affair of the Mecklenburg marriage occupies and agitates him exceedingly. But, if there is any question about renouncing the succession to the throne he will renounce not only that marriage but everything else. As for his religion, he will never change that even to gain everything in the world."

At length, in August 1731, the king was induced, by the reports which he received from privy-councillor Wolden, of the melancholy which oppressed the prince, because his father continued so long to withhold his favour from him, to determine upon visiting Cüstrin. "And then," he writes to Wolden, "I shall see him, and instantly discover from his eyes whether he is amended or not. Tell him from me not to put on any disguise, or I shall not like it."

The interview took place on the 15th of August, on the king's return from Lithuania and Prussia; and Grumbkow gives Seckendorf a report of it so full of character that I cannot refrain from extracting some passages:—

"On his majesty's arrival yesterday in Cüstrin, he repaired immediately to the government-house, and, having entered a room, ordered major-general Löbel, colonel Derschau and myself to come in. He then ordered privy-councillor Wolden to bring the prince-royal from his house. In a few minutes he entered the room where his majesty was, accompanied by Rohwedel and Natzmer. As soon as the king turned towards the prince-royal, he fell at his feet. The king bade him rise, and said to him, with a very stern look:—'You must recollect what has passed during the last year, how shamefully you have behaved, and what a criminal design you had. As I have had you about me from a child, and must therefore know you well, I have done everything in the world, by fair means and by foul, to make you an honest man, and as I had some suspicion of your intention, I treated you in the harshest manner in the Saxon camp, in hopes you would reflect and alter your conduct, confess your faults to me and beg my forgiveness; but all to no purpose; you only became the more stubborn. When a young man commits follies in courting and enters into love-intrigues and the like, one may forgive them as faults of youth; but base actions, wilfully committed, are unpardonable. You imagined you should conquer with

your obstinacy; but hark, my boy, if you were sixty or seventy years old, you should not dictate to me. And, as I have maintained my ground thus far against every one, I shall find means to bring you to reason. Have I not, on all occasions, meant well with you? The last time I heard of your debts, did I not admonish you in a fatherly way to let me know the worst and I would pay all, on which you told me that you owed two hundred dollars beyond the sum mentioned, which I paid and made my peace with you? Afterwards it was found that you owed many thousands more, and, as you knew that you had no means of paying, it was the same as if you had stolen the money, to say nothing about how you were cheated by the French crew, Montolieu and Ferrant.'

"His majesty then said that nothing touched him more than that he had no confidence in him, though all that he did for the aggrandisement of his house, army, and finances, could only be done for him, if he would render himself worthy of it. His majesty herewith declared that he had done everything to gain the friendship of the prince-royal, but all in vain—at which expression the prince threw himself sorrowfully at his father's feet. His majesty then asked him whether it had not been his intention to go to England, and as he said 'Yes,' the king continued: 'Now hear the consequences! Your mother would have been plunged into the greatest misery, because I should naturally have suspected her of being acquainted with the matter. Your sister would have been shut up for life in a place where neither sun nor moon would have shone upon her. I would

have marched with my army into Hanover, and laid waste everything with fire and sword, had I even sacrificed my life, my country, and my people. Look you, these would have been the fruits of your imprudent and wicked conduct. And, as I wished to employ you in all sorts of military and civil commissions, how dare you after such an action appear before my officers and other servants? All you can do is to strive, even with the sacrifice of your blood, to repair this fault'—on which the prince dejectedly threw himself again at his father's feet, entreating him to put him to the severest trial, and he would submit to anything to regain his majesty's favour and esteem. His majesty thereupon asked, 'Did you seduce Katte or did he seduce you?' The prince replied without hesitation, 'I seduced him.'—'I am glad,' replied the king that you tell the truth for once.' The king then enquired how he liked the life he led in Cüstrin, and whether he had the same aversion for Wusterhausen as ever. It might be that he disliked the king's company; it was true that he, the king, had no French manners, and could not make bon-mots in the *petit-maître* fashion, than which nothing was to him more contemptible. He was a German prince, and as such he would live and die. He might now see what he had gained by his caprices and his stubborn heart, as he had hated every thing that he loved, and distinguished every one whom he [the king] despised. He now saw the fruits of this, as for some time past not a creature in Berlin or Prussia asked after him or cared whether he was

in the world or out of it; and, if one or other had not come from Cüstrin and related that he was playing at ball and wearing French bags, not a soul would have known whether he was alive or dead.

"His majesty then adverted to the principles of religion, and clearly showed what horrible consequences arise from the doctrine of predestination, which makes God the author of sin. Whereupon the prince solemnly assured him that he was now entirely of his majesty's christian and orthodox opinion. His majesty then gave him a tender and paternal admonition, and concluded with saying that, in the hope of amendment, he forgave all that was past. The prince in deep emotion kissed the king's feet, and shed many tears. And when his majesty went into the other room, the prince-royal followed him, and as occasion presented itself to advert to his majesty's birthday, the prince manifested such sincere pleasure, throwing himself at the king's feet, that his majesty, at length, embraced him; and when his majesty had seated himself in the carriage the prince kissed his feet in the presence of many hundred persons. His majesty embraced him, and said that, as he believed his repentance to be sincere, he would provide further for him, which gave the prince such delight as no pen is capable of expressing; whereupon his majesty drove off and proceeded by water to Sonnenburg."

As the first tokens of returning favour, the king, on his arrival in Potsdam, sent the prince a carriage, horses, and clothes, together with an intimation that,

if he kept his promises, he would make him a soldier again. Very soon afterwards, fresh and explicit instructions were despatched by his majesty to Wolden. He directs morning and evening prayer, and the reading of a chapter of the Bible, to be continued and held with due devotion. The prince is to go regularly to the Chamber of War and Domains, and to have a seat there next to the president Munchow; but so that a vacant place shall be left between them for his majesty, and the prince sit on the left side of it. He is to sign and subscribe all papers as well as the president, and to visit and inspect certain domains which are named, but no others; and he is always to be accompanied by a member of the Chamber, qualified to instruct him in the practical agricultural management. On such occasions "there is to be no feasting; but the intendant is to provide a dinner for five persons, at a total expense, per head, of eight groschen [a shilling], including beer. In those domains the prince shall have permission to shoot stags, deer, hares, and birds. The prince must never sleep a night out of Cüstrin without permission; but he may go hunting if he can be back by evening." In the forenoon the prince must go three times a week to the Chamber of War and Domains; but in the afternoon he may ride, for which purpose his majesty will send him horses and carriage. "Sometimes, in an afternoon, Wolden shall also allow him to go for pleasure on the water to shoot ducks. But whenever the prince goes abroad, one of you three must be with him, so that

he must never be alone, nor talk with any person alone, and this one shall then be responsible that he does not get into company with any female, and he must always sleep with him. The prince-royal shall not correspond with any one but the king and queen, to whom he may write without his letters being opened. He is permitted to have always two guests, whomsoever he pleases, and to go out to dinner if invited twice a week; but Wolden must take care that no women are present, but only men. French books, likewise German temporal books and music, are as strictly forbidden as ever, likewise playing and dancing; and none of these things which are forbidden shall be allowed; and Wolden shall, at all times, lead the prince to solid things, and take care that he gets accustomed to do things for himself, and to lend a hand on all occasions, such as to load his piece, to clean it, and the like, not to get everything done by other people." The king then states that his new allowance is to commence from the first of September, that the prince must make shift with it, and attend to his household concerns himself. He must also "look after his servants and horses, saddles and harness, and see that everything is kept in good condition."

These are singular instructions for the government of the heir-apparent to a throne, of the age at which Frederick had arrived: but what he would have regarded before his misfortunes as intolerable tyranny, he now received in the spirit in which it was offered, as a boon, an indulgence. His whole conduct bespoke his earnest desire to regain the

favour of his father, and to humour his tastes and little foibles. To this end, he renounced, during this period, pursuits for which he had formerly manifested particular fondness, and shewed a predilection for the military profession, tall recruits, and garrison duty. He also addicted himself to field sports, and made a boast of the number of stags, deer, and wild boars that he had killed. His letters to his "most gracious king and father" contain, along with a variety of suggestions for practical, agricultural, and economical improvements, many intimations that delighted his parent. Sometimes we find expressions indicative of a fondness for military matters; for instance: "Major Röder, of the Wirtembergers, passed through this place, and dined with me on Wednesday. He has a handsome fellow for my most gracious father's regiment, and it made my heart bleed to look at him. I trust to my most gracious father's goodness, that he will make it up with me; I desire nothing, and no happiness in the world, but what comes from you, and hope that you will remember me in mercy, and let me put on the *blue coat* again."—At another time, he relates with all the interest of a keen sportsman: "Close by I have shot a stag of eight ends, and some small deer, and there is a cruel quantity of stags on the heaths, and they are so tame, that one can get within thirty paces of them in the carriages, and they go in herds of forty or fifty, and this is very common. Near Wallup there is a stag of twenty-eight ends, which, I think, might be easily caught, if my most gracious

father were to give orders for it. Last Monday, too, I shot three does near Neumühle, a (German) mile off." It is related, however, that an accident, which had well nigh been attended with fatal consequences, cured the prince of his sporting propensities. In his official excursions, he was accustomed to take a loaded gun with him in the open carriage, that he might have a shot whenever he fell in with any game by the way. One day, he chanced to drop his glove, and, in stooping to catch it in its fall, he leaned over the gun, and brushed it with his right arm in such a manner, that it went off, and the charge passed through his hat, close to his ear. Sensible how fatal this accident might have proved, he leaped out of the carriage, broke the gun in pieces, and never used one for sporting afterwards: his maturer reflections, indeed, produced a conviction that the chase is a barbarous diversion.

Thiébault asserts, but, like all Frenchmen, he is extremely inaccurate in details, that it was during Frederick's close confinement in Cüstrin, that he was allowed to go on foot from the fortress by a lonely path, to spend his evenings at the mansion of Tamsel, belonging to the family of Wreech. This is much more likely to have happened after his liberation from confinement in the fortress. The family consisted of the baron Wreech, his wife, three sons, and four daughters. The family was musical, and little concerts took place every evening, in which its different members bore a part. This was sufficient attraction for the prince-royal. He was also supplied

by it with books, and even with money. The various advances made to him, amounted, at the time of his recal, to 6,000 rix-dollars, no part of which, I am assured, says Thiébault, was ever paid. Neither did he ever take the least notice of this family after his accession to the throne. The reports made to Grumbkow, by count Schulenburg, who visited Frederick during his residence in Cüstrin, show that the gentlemen placed about him were not very punctual in enforcing his father's commands to prevent his associating with females, and that, besides its musical talents, the family of Wreech possessed attractions of a very different kind. The disreputable conduct of some of its members might, after the momentary infatuation was over, have produced contempt and consequent neglect.

In proportion as the matrimonial schemes formed by the king for his children were realised, his temper and disposition seemed to be softened. His second daughter, Louise, had been married, in 1729, to the margrave of Anspach, and the eldest was forced, by the severity of the treatment which she experienced, to accept a husband of her father's choice. He left her the option between three candidates for her hand, and she gave the hereditary prince Frederick of Bayreuth, whom she had never seen, the preference before the other two with whom she was acquainted. The fact was, that the princess determined to sacrifice herself, even with the certainty of incurring her mother's highest displeasure, in order to alleviate the lot of her beloved brother. Her

marriage, solemnised on the 30th of November, 1731, was anything but a joyous event to all the parties concerned in it; but it afforded the king an opportunity of taking another step towards a complete reconciliation with his son. On the fourth day of the nuptial festivities, Frederick was summoned to Berlin, and, on his arrival, during a ball given at court, mingled among the company unperceived, in his plain ordinary dress. All at once, he stood before his astonished mother, and the king, who had prepared for her this agreeable surprise, exclaimed: "See, madam, there is Fritz again!"

Frederick was so much altered in person, that at first his sister did not know him. He was dressed in a gray suit. He had grown a great deal stouter than he was, and his neck appeared much shorter: his face too was much changed, and not near so handsome as formerly. The princess describes his manner as being not less changed. "I threw my arms about his neck," says she, "and was so agitated, that I could utter only broken sentences. I cried, I laughed, like one out of her senses. Never had I felt such joy in all my life. I took my brother by the hand, and begged the king to restore to him his affection. This scene was so touching, that it drew tears from the whole assembly. I then went up to the queen. She could not help kissing me, as the king was facing her, but I could see that her joy was only affected. I turned again to my brother, bestowing on him a thousand caresses, and saying the tenderest things to him: but he was all the

while as cold as ice, and replied only in monosyllables. I then presented the prince (her husband) to him, to whom he said not a word. I was astonished at his manner, and attributed it to the king, who was watching us, and thus intimidated him. His very look surprised me; he had a haughty air, and eyed everybody from head to foot. The king supped that evening alone with his son. The queen was uneasy at this, and sent some one to see what was passing. She was told that the king was in an excellent humour, and talking in a very kind manner to the prince. This I thought would please her, but, in spite of all her efforts, she could not conceal her secret vexation. In fact, she loved her children only in as far as they were subservient to her ambitious views. The obligation which my brother owed me, on account of his reconciliation with the king, gave her more pain than joy, because it did not proceed from herself.

"My brother called upon me next morning, by desire of the king. The prince (of Bayreuth) had the attention to retire, and to leave me alone with him and madame de Sonsfeld. He related all his misfortunes as I have detailed them, and I gave him an account of mine. He appeared disconcerted at the conclusion of my narrative, expressed his thanks for the obligations he owed me, and gave me some caresses, which evidently did not come from the heart. To put an end to the conversation, he began to talk about indifferent matters: and, upon pretext of looking at my apartments, went into the next room,

where the prince was. He surveyed him for some time from head to foot, and, after paying him some cold civilities, retired."

The court, the military, and the city, manifested the greatest joy at the re-appearance of the prince; and his father, so far from being displeased at their sympathy, gave another ball on the occasion, to which he ordered "many aulic councillors and councillors of war, several tradesmen, and some other respectable persons of the class of burghers, with their spouses," to be invited. On the following day, November 27th, all the generals and colonels in Berlin, with the prince of Anhalt at their head, solicited the re-admission of the prince-royal into the military service; and, on the 30th, Frederick dined at count Seckendorf's, with a brilliant company, in the uniform of Goltz's regiment of infantry. After a stay of ten days in Berlin, he returned in his former dress to business at Custrin.

His father, pleased with his attention to those pursuits, which he himself deemed fittest to qualify him for his successor, encouraged him by his approbation, and rewarded him with tokens of his paternal affection. These he more particularly manifested on occasion of an indisposition which befel the prince in January, 1732:—"I have three saddle-horses for you," he writes; "one of them is broke in, but not the others. You shall have your carriage in due time: keep your eyes upon God, and only be obedient, and learn to be economical in house-keeping, and to live upon your allowance, and not lay out

money, without well considering whether you cannot get what you want cheaper, and behave so that I may be able to place more confidence in you, and by the help of God your condition shall be bettered, and I will think of an advantageous establishment for you.—N.B. If you want anything, let me know. Is the cook clever; is he careful or wasteful with meat and butter? I am getting your silver service made: I shall get knives, spoons, forks, dishes, and candlesticks, so that the whole will go into a box, which an ass might carry." When Frederick sends him a fine fat joint from the slaughtering at Wallup, he replies: "I am much obliged to you for thinking of me. I am arranging everything, and hope that, as soon as you are well, I shall place you so, that you shall have reason to be contented."

It appears that, ever since Grumbkow's visit paid to Frederick, at Cüstrin, for the purpose of inducing him to make submission to his father, the prince had been in regular correspondence with that minister. Surrounded, annoyed, intimidated by spies and informers, Frederick, in fact, threw himself into the arms of the man whom he knew to have never been his friend, and but too often the cause of disharmony in the royal family. The entire devotion of the Prussian minister to the ambassador of the court of Vienna is incontestably proved by the circumstance, that this correspondence was found among Seckendorf's papers. It is of peculiar importance, as it furnishes an entirely new clue to a connexion previously unknown. Not only did Frederick throw

himself into the arms of Grumbkow, but he so far conquered his former antipathy for him, as to communicate to him the most secret feelings of his heart, the cares of his life, and even the recreations in which he indulged with the muses. These letters furnish some of the most touching testimonies of the juvenile years of Frederick the Great. Nothing, however, could have been more painful to him than that Grumbkow, jointly with Seckendorf, should have seized the most sacred affair of his sensible heart, and degraded his marriage to an ordinary subject of court intrigue and mercenary diplomatic speculation; as is proved by the reports, letters, and instructions published by Förster in the supplementary volume to his Life of Frederick William, from which I shall have occasion to present the reader with many interesting extracts.

There is no doubt that the king had at one time cast his eyes on the princess Catherine of Mecklenburg Schwerin, grand-daughter of the Czar Iwan, and niece of the Russian empress Anne, as a suitable match for his son, who, aware that his union with the English princess Amelia was now impracticable, would not have objected to this arrangement, as the ample dowry expected by Catherine would at least have ensured him an independent position during his father's life-time. He solicited Grumbkow to assist him to accomplish this object; but the match was not consistent with the ambitious views of Austria, and Seckendorf decided Frederick William to fix definitively on the princess Elisabeth Christine,

daughter of his friend, the duke of Brunswick Bevern, and whose mother was sister to the empress of Germany.

The solicitude of the court of Austria for bringing this marriage to bear is strongly expressed in the letters from prince Eugene to Seckendorf. The latter was charged to neglect no means of entirely gaining the prince: "And as there is no better way to do so," writes Eugene, in January 1732, "than by supplying him with money in his present necessities, his imperial majesty has devoted to that purpose a sum of 2,000 or 2,500 ducats, which your excellency will receive from time to time, and apply so as not to excite suspicion in the king."

Even in later years, when the great king was writing the life of his father, he could not help feeling sore at this victory of the Austrian party; for, in treating of the conduct of the court of Vienna towards him, he says: "In spite of many grounds for dissatisfaction, the king, out of complaisance to the court of Vienna, married his eldest son, to the princess of Bevern, who was niece to the empress." That Seckendorf, a stanch Lutheran, was ever commissioned by his court, to endeavour to bring about a matrimonial alliance between a daughter of Charles the Sixth's and Frederick, and his conversion to the Catholic faith, is as fabulous as that the great king demanded Silesia from the house of Habsburg, because Maria Theresa had refused his hand.

At length, on the 4th of February, 1732, the king acquainted his "dear son Fritz," that he had chosen

for him "the eldest princess of Bevern, who was well educated, modest, and retiring, as women ought to be; not plain, neither is she a beauty." He informs him that he shall have the government-house in Berlin, fitted up for his residence, that the wedding cannot take place before the next winter, and that, as soon as he has a son, he will permit him to travel. The prince, in reply, assured his father, that he is ready to obey him in everything; and on the 11th of the same month, he writes on this subject to Grumbkow, as follows:

"Provided that I can, by my obedience, ensure the favour of the king, I will do all that lies in my power. But yet, in making my stipulations with the duke of Bevern, the *corpus delicti* (the princess) must be educated at the grandmother's. For I had rather be a cuckold, or live under petticoat-government, than have a woman who would enrage me by her stupidity, and whom I should be ashamed to produce. When one hates so much as I do the heroines of novels, one is afraid of those dragons of virtue, and I would rather have the greatest strumpet in Berlin, than a saint, whose looks are full of hypocrisy.....Do not imagine, I beseech you, that I am going to affront the duke, the duchess, or the daughter; I know too well what I owe them, and have too much respect for their merits, not to keep within the strictest limits of decorum, even though I shall hate them and their machinations, like the plague ..... Once more, sir, let them make this princess learn by heart the School for Husbands and

wives; that will be better than the "True Christianity" of the late John Arndt. If, in addition, she would dance on one leg, learn music—N.B. and become rather too free than too virtuous—ah, then I should take a liking to her; but if she is stupid, I renounce her and the devil. All will depend upon her; and I would rather marry Mademoiselle Jette (Grumbkow's daughter) without advantage and without ancestors, than have a stupid princess for my partner.

"I beg you, my dear general," continues the prince, "not to suppose that I am so high German as to take amiss the advice that you give me; if you disguise your thoughts from me, then I shall not take you for my friend; for falsehood indicates great hatred of those towards whom it is employed. I beg you to remain as long as I live upon your present footing, and to call a cat a cat, and a rogue a rogue. It is not right to flatter, for the human mind flatters itself enough; and every one has need of a sharp censor, who is faithful, and knows how to convince you of your faults and irregularities—not with a wrinkled brow, but in a sportive manner." These, be it observed, are the remarks of a young man of twenty.

On further consideration of the matter, the prince appears to have totally changed his mind; for a week afterwards, on the 19th, he astonished the minister with the following epistle:—

"Let the king consider only that he is marrying, not for himself, but for me, and that he

will himself have a thousand vexations, in seeing two persons who hate one another and the most unhappy marriage in the world, and in hearing mutual complaints, which will be so many reproaches for his having been the author of our misery. As a good Christian, let him reflect whether it is right to force people, to cause divorces and all those sins which an ill-assorted marriage leads us to commit. I am determined rather to do anything whatever, and as things are thus, you may let the duke know somehow that, let what will happen, I will not have her. I have been miserable all my life, and it seems to be my fate to remain so. I must have patience, and take time as it comes; perhaps so sudden a fortune, following all the mortifications that I have experienced since I have been in the world, would have made me proud. At any rate, happen what may, I have nothing to reproach myself with. I have suffered enough for an indiscretion, and I will not bind myself to extend my miseries to a future time. I have still resources, and a pistol can put an end to my afflictions and my life. I do not think that the Almighty will damn me for that, but, taking pity on me, will grant me happiness in exchange for a wretched life. Such are the thoughts that despair can produce in a young person, whose blood is not so cool as that of a man of seventy."

Grumbkow wrote, in answer, that, if the prince was determined to play the part of Don Carlos, he (Grumbkow) should not act that of the count of Grammont; that he wished him to interfere in

matters which might cost him his head, but that he was not obliged to ruin himself and his poor family for a prince who was not his master, and who seemed resolved to run into destruction. "I fear God too much," he added, "to attach myself to a prince who is bent on self-murder, when he has no reason for it; what, then, would he do if the Almighty were pleased to afflict him with real and sensible misfortunes! In short, monseigneur, you may have all the good sense in the world, but you do not reason like a good man and a Christian. . . . It is for your royal highness to settle the matter with your father, to whom you have written so positive a letter, that I am utterly astonished. . . . To thrust myself in between father and son, who have such opposite inclinations, is, I see, an enterprise that will break the neck of the most prudent man; and I shall never forget what the king said to me at Wusterhausen, while your royal highness was in the citadel of Cüstrin, and I attempted to take your part. 'No, Grumbkow, mind what I say, God grant that I may not be right, but my son will not die a natural death, and God grant that he may not fall into the hands of the executioner!' I shuddered at these words, which the king repeated twice; and this is true, or may I never see the face of God, or have part in the merits of our Saviour."

Seckendorf, in one of his despatches to his court, attributes this inconsistency in the prince-royal to a passion which he had conceived for the wife of colonel Wreech, and "which he indulged with the connivance

of those who were about him." In a subsequent letter, he describes the prince-royal as immersed in gallantries and intrigues, so that he was fearful lest, if he gave him the money remitted for him from Vienna, he would not apply it to the discharge of his debts, but spend it on his mistresses. He also proposed not to give him any large sum at a time, because, if he should be flush of money, his servants would perceive it and give information to the king, "for his valet, lacqueys, and pages, are charged, upon pain of losing life, honour, and reputation, to report all that they see or that comes to their knowledge about the prince-royal." Seckendorf further says that, at this time, the king allowed the heir-apparent to the throne no more than 300 dollars (about £50) per month.

The letters of Grumbkow to Seckendorf show that there was nothing so secret or so confidential that he did not betray to the Austrian ambassador. In one of these communications, he says, "the king told me in confidence that the prince had got Wreech's wife with child, and the husband declared that he would not acknowledge the child as his. This pleased him, as he hoped that he would do the same for the princess of Bevern."

Satisfied with the conduct and sentiments of the prince, his father recalled him on the 10th of February, 1732, from his exile at Cüstrin. He returned to Berlin with a practical knowledge of business, which proved of the utmost benefit to his country after his accession to the throne. The king gave him the regiment of Goltz, which was garrisoned at Ruppin,

where a house was fitted up for his residence; and, according to his promise, enlarged the government-house, now the king's palace, for his reception in the capital.

On leaving Cüstrin, Frederick presented to the physician, named Kaufman, who had attended him during his residence there, a crayon drawing by himself, representing the head of an old man. Though no masterpiece of art, yet, as the only extant performance of this kind by which the prince beguiled the melancholy hours that he was doomed to pass there, this drawing is worthy of mention. It is now in the possession of the councillor, Otto von Grunberg.

CHAPTER XIII.

Attachment of Frederick William to the Emperor.—Pecuniary Obligations of the Prince-Royal to Austria.—Austrian Pensioners at the Court of Prussia.—Extracts from the Prince's Correspondence with Grumbkow.—His Sentiments respecting his intended Marriage.—Account of his Situation and Pursuits.—Lamentations on account of the Pecuniary Distress of his Eldest Sister.—A Country Theatrical Entertainment.—Advantages of Retirement.—Remarks on the Salzburg Refugees.—Character of the King of Poland.—Curious Anecdote respecting his Death.—Melancholy of the King of Prussia.—The Prince's Sentiments respecting his Father.—Speculation of his Family on the Subject of his intended Marriage.—Apoplectic Attack of the King.—Wretched State of Medical Science in Germany.—Anecdotes illustrative of it.—Anecdotes of Frederick's Residence at Ruppin.—His Marriage.—The King and Mademoiselle von Pannewitz.—Sketch of the Princess Royal, her Mother, and her Father.—Nuptial Festivities at Berlin.

FREDERICK WILLIAM always expressed the strongest political attachment to the emperor. Of all his duties he held none more sacred than those which he owed as a member of the German empire; and, had the emperor and the other princes been as sincere as he was, the empire would not have been subjected to the degrading humiliations which it experienced. His sentiments on this subject he expressed without reserve, whether in large companies at his own table, or in the narrower circle of his hunting or smoking companions. Thus Seckendorf writes to Prince Eu-

gene, on the 22d of January, 1727: "His Majesty has said at Potsdam and Wusterhausen, 'in his smoking parties, not once but repeatedly, that all German princes must be scoundrels who do not mean well by the emperor and the empire;' and once he added, 'and I must be one too if I were to act otherwise than I do. We must have an emperor, so let us stick to the house of Austria, and he is not an honest German who does not contribute to this. No Englishman or Frenchman shall rule us Germans, and I will give sword and pistols to my children in their cradles, that they may help to keep foreign nations out of Germany.'"

Though, from his experience at a later period, the king could have no hope that the court of Vienna would ever be convinced of the uprightness of his intentions, still the golden promises and offers made by France could not shake his fidelity to his country. Cardinal Fleury sent him, in 1735, a gold pear, of curious workmanship, and in it a bill for five millions of pistoles, payable whenever he should declare in favour of France. Such offers he rejected with scorn, and none of the reproaches addressed to him from Vienna hurt him so much as when he was called a Frenchman. "He is a scoundrel," said he, across the table to the younger Seckendorf, the nephew of the ambassador, "even though he were a crowned head, who says that I am French."—"I a Frenchman!" he exclaimed on another occasion; "that vexes me; I can scarcely look at the fellows. I always spit whenever I see a Frenchman."

The court of Vienna, and its ambassador, as an experienced diplomatist, were solicitous to secure as decided an influence over the future as they possessed over the reigning sovereign of Prussia, the duration of whose life appeared extremely precarious.

Minutely acquainted, from the different correspondences of the prince-royal, with his wishes, inclinations, pursuits, and wants, it was not difficult for Seckendorf to find a point to which to attach his snares. The prince-royal, owing to the parsimonious allowance assigned him by the king was always in want of money, especially as he himself knew nothing of economy, was somewhat profuse in kitchen, cellar, and library; and moreover was obliged to incur considerable expense for tall recruits—the surest way to ingratiate himself with his father. All Prussian subjects were forbidden to lend the prince-royal money; and, after the melancholy experience gained on former occasions, he was now too cautious to involve any of his friends. Nothing then could be more welcome than the unsolicited assistance of count Seckendorf, who sent him considerable sums immediately after his recal from Cüstrin, and thenceforward continued to supply him with money whenever the prince resorted to him in his necessities. So much of Seckendorf's correspondence with the prince-royal as has come to light relates almost exclusively to money matters; though other subjects are incidentally touched upon. It opens with a letter, dated April 6th, 1732, from Seckendorf, sent to the prince by a trusty messenger with 500 ducats as a first instalment for

the payment of debts contracted by him at Cüstrin. The answer returned by Frederick is worded with great caution; the ducats are called a "book," and the certificate of their due delivery a "song."

From this period Frederick was in continual correspondence with Seckendorf about money matters. From statements found among the papers of the latter, we learn that the court of Vienna at first assigned to the prince-royal 3000 ducats per annum. In September, 1732, Seckendorf informs prince Eugene that "the king allows the prince only 6000 dollars per annum, and that after his marriage he is to have 12,000; that it is impossible for him to live upon this sum, and therefore, unless the imperial court determines to abandon the prince-royal, it is absolutely necessary to allow him a yearly pension of at least 6000 ducats."

His favourite sister, the hereditary princess of Bayreuth, was supplied at this time with a thousand ducats per year from the same source, and Grumbkow, the minister, had for several years been receiving the like sum. Ilgen, the minister for foreign affairs, is described, to his honour, as "being inaccessible to the imperial ducats." Reichenbach, the Prussian ambassador in London, enjoyed a pension of nine hundred florins, and was promised a provision by the Austrian court in case he should lose his appointment; and probably, to gratify the prince-royal, the yearly sum of six hundred florins was allotted to Duhan, his former preceptor. The statement which furnishes this information shows that count Man-

teuffel also, formerly minister of the elector of Saxony, but who had long been resident in Berlin, received from Austria a yearly sum of six thousand florins.

We have already had occasion to refer to Frederick's correspondence with Grumbkow. This correspondence became particularly brisk during the negociations for the marriage of the prince, who expressed his sentiments on that subject with great frankness. Thus he writes from Ruppin, September 4, 1732:—

"My dear general,—I have this morning received a letter from the king, which has utterly amazed me. It is again on the pleasing subject of my Dulcinea. He would fain make me amorous with stripes, but, unluckily not being of the nature of the ass, I much fear that he will not succeed. The king expresses himself in these terms:—'Having learned that you are not sufficiently punctual in writing to your princess, I wish you to tell me the reason, and to write oftener to her.' I replied that it was a fortnight since I received her last letter, and that it was a week since I wrote to her; that I had no other reason to assign but the true one, namely, that I had nothing to write about.—Good God! I wish he would recollect that this marriage has been thrust upon me *nolens volens*, and that liberty was the price of it. But I fancy Madame la duchesse is playing me this trick, thinking to reduce me early to subjection to her top-knot, which, I wish from the bottom of my soul, may the devil blast. I hope the king will not interfere in my affairs when I am mar-

ried, seeing that I apprehend the said affairs will go on very ill, and Madame la princesse might suffer for it. Marriage makes one of age; and as soon as I am so, I will be the sovereign in my house, and my wife shall have no orders to give. No woman for me in the government of anything whatever in this world! I think the man who suffers himself to be governed by woman the greatest coward in the world, and unworthy to bear the worthy name of man. For this reason, if I marry, I shall marry as a gallant man, that is leaving madame to act as she thinks fit, and doing for my part just what I please, and *vive la liberté!* You see, my dear general, that my heart is rather coarse, and my head warm; but I exhibit my sentiments to you just as they are. You must admit that force is the very contrary way to love, and that love never can be forced. I love the sex, but I love it with a volatile love; I only ask for the enjoyment, and then I despise it. Judge then if I am of the wood that good husbands are made of. I am enraged to become such, but I make a virtue of necessity. I shall keep my word; I will marry, but afterwards—Now the thing is done, so good day, madam, and a good journey to you!"

On the 11th of September, 1732, he gives this account of his situation and pursuits:—"We are here in profound peace, and I should wish to be throughout my whole life neither more nor less happy. I should be quite satisfied with my lot, provided that peace accompanied it, and that I could pass my life in tranquillity and without annoyance; for I should

not care about those follies in which the world places all its pride; and how wrong it is not to be content with a due mean, which, in my opinion, is the happiest state; for too much grandeur is infinitely burdensome and fatiguing, and indigence derogates too much from a certain nobleness which generally forms the basis of our characters; but I consider myself happy in the situation in which Heaven has been pleased to place me; I find that I have more than I deserve, and I make my greatest felicity consist in the knowledge that I have of it. . . . . I scarcely stir from home; I amuse myself with the dead, and my silent conversation is more useful to me than any that I could hold with the living; afterwards I recreate myself with music, and sometimes have recourse to the sweet lyre which Apollo deigns to lend me; but I discreetly keep its productions to myself, or sacrifice them to Vulcan. Such are my life and the occupations by which it is diversified."

Respecting his eldest sister, Frederick, about the same time, expresses himself very feelingly in his letters to Grumbkow:—"I am very sorry," he says, "to have to advert to the distressed situation of my poor sister of Bayreuth. The king treats her and the margrave most scurvily. I try to supply her wants, for, upon my word, she has nothing to subsist upon. Provided then that the king does not speak so terribly about the margrave, she would be satisfied; for he calls him idiot and dolt, which mortifies that prince in the highest degree. I could never sufficiently acknowledge, even to the fourth generation, the

pleasure which you would do me in merely saving those poor innocent unfortunates from the further abuse of the king. It is the least they can ask, and the least that is due to them. The king has just flatly refused my sister two thousand crowns. What a mortification to be refused, and that, too, in distress!" Again he writes:—"All that I hear concerning my poor sister and the margrave of Bayreuth cuts me to the heart; and what is still worse is the distress they are in. I have found money for them, or they would have been without a sou. I am quite melancholy when I think of it, and how can I supply them, I, who have not enough to subsist on myself!" And again:—"If I could make gold, I would communicate the secret to my poor sister of Bayreuth; she has abundant need of it, and I wish with all my heart that her worthy father-in-law would be pleased to step out of the way; he would not care much about it, I dare say, if he were but sure that they distil good brandy in heaven."

This correspondence with Grumbkow, in which the prince throws off all restraint, is full of humorous touches and descriptions. The following account of a theatrical entertainment, extracted from a letter dated Ruppin, September 23d, 1732, is amusing:—

"We had here, some days ago, a company of players, who treated us to the most superb spectacle that has been seen in our town in the memory of man. You must know that last Tuesday, the 16th, we were in the town-house, where a theatre of magnificent construction presented itself. The amphitheatre

was composed of several logs of wood, placed by a lucky accident one upon another, and which, according to all appearance, were waiting till worms and dry-rot should make them change their places. A five-leaved screen stood opposite to the amphitheatre, through a large balustrade on one side of which was to be seen a tallow-candle, the faint glimmer of which was scarcely sufficient to light six catgut-scrapers, who laboured to produce a wretched concert to which there was no end. After rending the ears of their unfortunate audience and exercising our patience above an hour, we saw at about eight o'clock, at the farther end of the hall, a light, the brightness of which revived the almost extinguished hopes of the spectators. Every one was forming wonderful ideas of what was about to happen, when, to our great astonishment, we saw—not the sun, but a woman, a description of whom would soil my paper—between two lighted lamps. After she had set down one of these lamps on each side of what was called the stage, this lady informed us that the play was going to begin. The master of the company, a quack, a real vender of mithridate, then came forward in a dress that might have been new at the beginning of the last century. His wig had served to cover so many pates, that, if it had ever been good, it was now good-for-nothing. It nevertheless sheltered, as well as it could, the little brains possessed by our actor, and the rest of his rags hung carelessly from his shoulders. A long rapier of six feet two traced, whenever he turned round, as accurate a circle as if

it had been made with a pair of compasses. The most remarkable article of the rest of his accoutrements was a pair of white gloves, which appeared to be quite new. Having declaimed a wretched speech in the tone of a town-crier, his wife appeared upon the stage. A bandit murderer's hat overshadowed with its prodigious brim one cheek, part of her throat, half the left eye and her forehead. Her head, more hideous than Medusa's, was covered with a rag picked up in the streets, and her neck which she took care to expose as much as possible, was encircled by a necklace of false stones. The gown which she wore was stretched by the hoop, which, being too large for the dress, caused it to make a thousand grimaces. The whole of her paraphernalia was set off by a flesh-coloured *postillon d'amour*. After this description of her dress, I think you may form a tolerable idea of the actress. Her voice corresponded with her figure, for in a tone between harsh and soft, she made, sniffling, a declaration of love, the terms of which I duly noted, in order to use them on occasion. She had just finished, when the devil himself must needs pop in to shift the scene; for all at once a tremendous noise arose, and the auditors found themselves out of sight of the stage. The logs on which they sat in form of a bench, being not well secured, began to roll. Those upon them consequently fell, and tumbling with the timbers upon those before them, carried the latter along in their fall. Lying one upon another, most of them in a very inconvenient situation, they began to scream lustily for help. It was quite

a treat to see how they unravelled themselves; men, women, chairs, beams, planks, soldiers, being all mingled together, as in a general resurrection. With a good deal of trouble, we extricated ourselves one after another from this confusion. What oaths were sworn and what curses bestowed by these unlucky people upon the manager! Every one took himself off as soon as he could to wash his bleeding muzzle in cold water. For my part, I did the same, wishing the manager, his wife, and the whole troop at the devil, and heartily swearing never to set foot in such a playhouse again."

Who would expect from the youthful heir-apparent to a throne such philosophic views of the advantages of retirement as the following letter presents:—

"I think it must be to make me the more deeply regret your company, that you give me so pleasing a description of the country life you lead at Ruhstadt. You must agree with me that in the country one enjoys a quiet which is unknown at court. This makes me like the kind of life that one leads in small towns. Cares and vexations are banished from the mind. You are not afraid of coming too late; being your own master, you are above compliments, which frequently oblige you, out of politeness, to utter words which the heart disavows. You dispose of your time as you please; you see such persons only as you choose; the multitude of false friends, whom there is no avoiding at courts, do not interrupt your tranquillity; and you leave to God and to our sovereign the direction of the state-machine. Relieved from

the burden imposed by the cares of business, you sleep soundly; pleasing dreams cause the night to pass agreeably; Somnus sprinkles his poppies over your eyes, which do not open till your valet, by dint of sundry shakes, obliges you to unclose them; and then, being above indigence, you begin to plan what diversion you shall enjoy that day. You are disturbed by no cares about the morrow; and a frugal meal, accompanied with good wine, is always waiting till your appetite shall fix the hour at which it is to be served up. Then, hungry with moderate and salutary exercise, all the dishes on your table seem exquisite, and better than if Stats himself had cooked them. The company, though not very select, is not uninteresting; the diversity of disposition in the guests furnishes abundant subject for philosophising. The insipid jests of one, the silly pride of another, the ignoramus counterfeiting the man of study and science, the romancer, and such like, from their want of knowledge of the world, show their characters infinitely more than those who, familiar with the manners of courts, are able to cloak theirs with clever dissimulation. In short, you find pleasure in everything; and there is many a village girl, redolent of garlic, who will please more than the countess D—h— with all her airs and graces. The freedom of the mind soon communicates itself to all your manners, which become more easy; and, having time and liberty to employ it as you think fit, you can study, and by reflecting on the events that are passing before you in the world, your mind recovers from the

dazzling effect produced by vain pomp and splendour. The higher your rank, the greater slave you are.

"You will laugh at me, perhaps, for making, at my age, reflections which seem to argue an aversion to the world. I like it, nevertheless, and I confess that the warm temperament, which nature has given me, impels me impetuously towards such pleasures as youth is mad after; misfortune, however, has taught me to curb this wild propensity, and though I am far from being master of myself and abjuring the world, like the Quietists, still I have learned to reason justly, and I hope that in time I shall be able to follow the precepts which reason dictates. Meanwhile, you will do me a great favour to show me the right way, and you shall see that I am not ungrateful."

Alluding to the hard fate of the Protestants of Salzburg, an account of whose emigration has been given in a preceding chapter, Frederick thus expresses himself:—

"It seems to me impossible adequately to reward the constancy which those poor people have shown, and the intrepidity with which they have suffered all hardships rather than forsake the only religion that makes us acquainted with the truths of our Saviour. I would willingly strip myself of my shirt to help those unfortunate creatures. I beg you to furnish me with the means of assisting them; I will most cheerfully give all I can spare out of the little I have, and I think every honest man ought to make it a duty to succour, as far as lies in his power, people

whose fathers and relatives have suffered for the love of the Lord."

In the beginning of 1733, Frederick gives this character of the king of Poland. "I am not surprised that the king of Poland is declining. He is the most deceitful prince in the whole world, and the one for whom I have the greatest aversion. He has neither honour, nor faith; deception is his only law; his interest and the division of others are his only study. I learned his character at the camp of Radewitz, and he has played me tricks which I shall never forget while I live. But I was his dupe only once; if he ever catches me again it will be my own fault."

Augustus died shortly afterwards, on the 1st of February, at Warsaw, while attending the Diet. Frederick William was deeply afflicted on hearing of his decease. Grumbkow, we are told by the margravine of Bayreuth, had seen him on his way to Poland at Frauenfeld, whither he had gone to compliment him in the name of his master. They got very drunk together with Tokay, and this accelerated the death of the king. He took a very affectionate leave of the Prussian minister, to whom he was much attached. "Farewell, my dear Grumbkow," said he, "I shall never see you again." "A few days before the arrival of the courier," continues the princess, "Grumbkow said to the king in my presence, and that of more than forty other witnesses:—'Ah, Sire, our poor friend is dead. Last night, I was wide awake, when all at once my bed-curtain was drawn back, and I saw him; he had a shroud on, and

looked stedfastly at me: being much alarmed, I was going to get up, when the phantom vanished.' It so happened that the king of Poland died that very night. This dream," adds the princess," which Grumbkow, struck by his last words, mistook for reality, made him melancholy for some time, and it was only with the aid of Tokay that he recovered his natural cheerfulness."

It is not unlikely that a fit of melancholy, which just at this time oppressed Frederick William, might have been aggravated by the news of the death of the king of Poland. He had even again conceived an idea of abdicating the throne. "General Grumbkow," says Seckendorf, in a letter dated February 28, "has informed me in the greatest confidence that the king is in imminent danger of going mad. He cannot bear mortification and disgrace—talks of abdicating and retiring to Verona. The cause he imagines to be the refusal to let him have any tall recruits, so that he thinks he shall be disgraced if he cannot keep up his regiment."

Another short extract or two shall close my notice of the prince's correspondence with Grumbkow. On the 27th of January, 1733, he writes:—"At present I am studying compliments for Brunswick, and I am going to hunt wild boars, that I may know something about it, for between a Westphalian, born and bred with the hogs, and a hog, there is no real difference. . . . My princess has sent me a porcelain snuff-box which I have found cracked in its case, whether to denote the frailty of her virtue or that of the

whole human race I know not. At any rate I take it for a bad omen."

"In regard to the king," he writes, on the 3d of March, 1733, "I have a very clear conscience, and if I were as free from sin before God, I verily believe that I should be carried up to heaven alive. I find more and more every day that the world is a droll thing, and that nothing in it is more variable than the favour of the great. A false report, a mere nothing, are capable of cancelling all the services one has rendered, and all the pains one has taken to insinuate one's-self into their good graces. I am fond of my retirement, and I bless Fate which keeps me aloof from the gout, from the society of Berlin, and from all that *clique* whose mother is Falsehood, and whose guide is Jealousy. I suppose that some one has made the king believe that I want to encroach upon his authority; but God knows that I am egregiously belied; for a quiet and peaceful life is much more agreeable to me than to be burdened with business. I wish him a long life, and I assure you that, on this point, I shall always say, like the late dauphin, when explaining in the council his sentiments towards his father, Louis XIV.:—'I wish that I may always have to call the king my father.'"

As I shall not have occasion to make any further mention of Grumbkow, it may be well to state here that he attained the rank of field-marshal, but lost the favour of his master before his death, which happened in 1739.

On the subject of his approaching marriage, Fre-

derick thus wrote to his sister of Bayreuth :—" Thus far, my lot has been pleasant enough. I have lived quietly in my garrison; my flute, my books, and a few affectionate friends, have enabled me to lead a very peaceful life there. They now want to force me to give this up and to marry the princess of Bevern, whom I do not know: a yes has been wrung from me, and caused me a great deal of pain. If my dear sister were but here, I should endure all with patience." As soon as the betrothal had taken place, the queen sent her the following sketch of her future sister-in-law. "The princess is handsome, but a downright ninny. She has no breeding. I know not how my son will like such an ape."

Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, who arrived soon afterwards at Bayreuth, was commissioned by Frederick to say to his sister what he durst not write. He told her that her brother was excessively chagrined at the proposed marriage; that the princess was so ill brought up that she answered all that was said to her with yes or no; that many people thought she was silent from policy, as she had a defect in her speech which prevented her from expressing herself intelligibly.

The princess of Bayreuth soon afterwards paid a visit to her family in Berlin. The queen at table turned the conversation to the future princess-royal. "Your brother," she said, looking at him, "is excessively mortified about marrying, and no wonder; she is an absolute ninny; to everything that is said she has nothing to answer but yes or no, accompanied

with a silly laugh that is quite disgusting."—'Oh,' said my sister Charlotte, for these are the words of the princess; 'your majesty is not yet acquainted with all her merit.' I was one morning at her toilet—I thought I should have been suffocated—there was such an intolerable smell, that she must have at least ten or a dozen ulcers about her, for it cannot be natural. I observed, too, that she was deformed; her stomacher is padded on one side, and she has one hip higher than the other.' I was astonished at these expressions, which were used in the presence of the servants, and above all of my brother. I perceived that they vexed him, and that he changed colour. He retired immediately after supper, and so did I.

"Presently afterwards he came to see me; I asked him if he was satisfied with the king. He told me that his situation was changing every moment; that sometimes he was in favour, at others in disgrace; that he was most happy when absent; that he led a quiet agreeable life with his regiment; that study and music were then his principal occupations; that he had built himself a house, and laid out a delightful garden, where he could read and stroll about. I begged him to tell me if the portrait which the queen and my sister had drawn of the princess of Brunswick was correct. 'We are alone,' he replied, 'and I have no secrets from you. The queen, by her miserable intrigues, is the sole cause of our misfortunes. No sooner were you gone than she renewed the negociation with England, with a view to substitute my sister Charlotte in your stead, and to bring about her

marriage with the prince of Wales, and mine with the princess Amelia. The king was instantly informed of these underhand dealings, which have occasioned so many quarrels between him and the queen. Seckendorf at length interfered, and advised the king to put an end to them by concluding my marriage with the princess of Brunswick. The queen cannot get over this disappointment, and discharges her spite against this poor princess. She has insisted on my refusing this match, and told me she cares not about creating disharmony again between my father and me; that all I have to do is to be firm, and she will support me. I declined following her advice, and told her plumply that I would not incur my father's displeasure, which had already made me suffer so severely. As for the princess, she is not so disagreeable to me as I pretend; I affect to dislike her, to cause the king to value my obedience the more highly. She is handsome; her complexion is a mixture of the lily and the rose; her features are delicate, and her whole face is that of a pretty woman. She has no education and dresses ill, it is true, but I flatter myself that when you are here, you will have the goodness to instruct her. I recommend her to you, my dear sister, and hope that you will take her under your protection.'"

It was on this occasion that Frederick informed his sister that Seckendorf had begged him to procure him a private interview with her. "He is a good fellow," added he, laughing, "for he frequently sends me money, which I have great need of. I have

thought that he might get some for you too; my galleons arrived yesterday, and you shall go halves with me."—"Accordingly," says the princess, "he brought me next day a thousand crowns, assuring me that he would give me more. I made many objections to accept the money, lest he might want it himself. 'Take it at once,' said he, 'for the empress sends me as much as I like to have, and I assure you that I lose no time in dislodging the devil when he comes to take up his quarters with me.'—'Then the empress,' I replied, 'is a better exorcist than the priests.'—'Yes,' said he, 'and I promise you that she will drive out your devil as well as mine.'" The object of Seckendorf's visit was to bespeak the good offices of the princess of Bayreuth in favour of the future princess-royal, who, as I have said, was niece to the empress.

During this visit of the princess of Bayreuth in Berlin, the king was not at all well. "He was much altered in the face," she says, "and his body swelled every night. One afternoon, while he was asleep and we were all sitting round him, he was nearly suffocated. As he used to snore very loud, we did not notice it at first. I remarked that his face was quite black and swollen. I called the queen, who shook him several times to awaken him, but to no purpose. I ran to fetch help; we cut his cravat, and sprinkled his face with water, which at length brought him to himself. He was much alarmed at this circumstance; but all the physicians about him, in order to ingratiate themselves with him, treated it as

a trifling matter, though in reality it was extremely dangerous: everybody said to himself that it was a flying gout, which was likely to prove fatal to him."

This attack, which appears to have been of a similar nature to that experienced by George I. while in Berlin, as related in the proper place, was manifestly apoplectic. It is remarkable that in neither case was bleeding in any form resorted to; but the Memoirs of the princess, who records these two facts, abound with incidents, proving the wretched state of medical science a century ago in Germany. One or two of these may amuse the reader.

Prince William, brother of the hereditary prince of Bayreuth, having died of small-pox, while with his regiment at Cremona, in Italy, his remains were brought to Bayreuth to be deposited in the family vault, in the church of St. Peter. This vault, being walled up, was opened a few days before the interment, for the purpose of ventilation, and, to the astonishment of those who descended into it, the floor was found covered with blood. "The whole town," says the princess, "ran to see the miracle, which gave rise to many sinister forebodings. A handkerchief, dipped in this miraculous blood, was brought to me at Himmelcron. Nobody would inform the margrave of the circumstance, for fear of alarming him; for my part, putting no faith in miracles, I thought it best to apprise him of what was going on; and I begged him to send his first physician, M. Gökel, to investigate the matter. The margrave

adopted my suggestion. Gökel came in the evening, and told me that the blood ran into the vault in such quantities that he had caused several bucketfuls to be taken up; and, after a strict examination, he found that it oozed from an almost imperceptible crack in a leaden coffin, inclosing the body of a princess of the house, who had been dead about eighty years, and that the only way to come at the solution of the mystery was to open that coffin. The margrave gave orders accordingly; but, as it was found that this could not be accomplished without breaking it all to pieces, it was not done. There was no chemist at Bayreuth skilful enough to decide whether this was blood, or some other liquid. One of the physicians of the town at length had the courage to taste it, and the miracle was at an end: it was balm. The princess, whose body was inclosed in the coffin from which this liquid oozed, had been exceedingly corpulent; she had been embalmed; her fat, mingled with the balm, had produced this phenomenon, which the medical men, nevertheless, considered as very extraordinary, on account of the length of time that she had been dead."

The same Dr. Gökel who has been just mentioned figures about the same time as the author of a notable medical discovery. "The margrave [of Bayreuth]," says the princess, "was growing evidently weaker. His physician, the most ignorant that ever was, promised to cure him by certain baths, and by a draught which he considered as a universal remedy; it was a decoction of fir-apples in water. The margrave and

I were put upon this system at the same time; but, luckily for me, some charitable persons assured me that I should kill myself if I persisted in it. The same warning was given to the margrave, but he was so infatuated with his physician that he continued his baths, though he fainted in them daily. Everybody advised him to discard his physician; and at last he was so excited against the unfortunate man, that he would have ordered him to be arrested, had he not been dissuaded. The other physicians asserted that it was the baths, which Gökel had recommended, that had reduced the margrave to the melancholy condition in which he was. This was denied by Gökel, who proved the efficacy of his baths, by the following reasoning: 'Bodies,' said he, 'are preserved by embalming: hence, I conclude, that if I can find means to embalm a person full of life, that person will be capable of living several hundred years. Now, the best preservative against corruption is the fir-apple. I have, therefore, acted like a sensible man and one who understands his business, in ordering this for the margrave and the hereditary princess.' I laughed," she adds, "at this ingenious system, which would have turned the margrave and myself into mummies."

Frederick, during his residence at Ruppin, appears to have been solicitous to ingratiate himself with his father, whose ears, it is to be presumed, many of his youthful frolics there never reached. The memory of some of these has been preserved by tradition; and though we cannot guarantee the authenticity of the

anecdotes which it relates of him, we subjoin two or three of them.

The uniform of the officers of his regiment had been laced with gold; Frederick obtained his father's permission to substitute silver in its stead. On the day fixed for assuming the new uniform, the officers were ordered to assemble in a meadow near Ruppin, where they used frequently to meet to amuse themselves. Here they found a large bonfire kindled. The prince invited them to sit down round the fire, and had refreshments handed to them. This done, "Gentlemen," said he, "as we are all here together, I think it would be well to pay the last honours to our old uniform." With these words, he took off coat, waistcoat, and hat, and flung them on the fire; the others followed his example, whether willingly or unwillingly. With a penknife, he then ripped his breeches from the lining, and threw them also into the flames. The embarrassment of many of the officers, whose linings were not in the best condition, and who could not help following the prince's example, was great; but the hilarity communicated by him conquered shame. The new uniform was brought; they put it on, and he returned in it at their head, in the most jovial humour, to the town.

It is likely, too, that the king never heard of his misunderstandings with the chaplain to the garrison, and of the tricks played him and other clergymen, which Frederick used to relate with much glee, even in the later years of his life. This poor fellow had been excluded by the prince from his table, and

annoyed in various ways. This conduct he had the boldness to censure in one of his sermons. "Herod (the prince) made Herodias (the corps of officers) dance before him, and ordered the head of John (the chaplain) to be presented to them." The prince and the young officers, in return, broke his windows at night, drove him out of his bed-chamber, and finally out of his house, with squibs, and pursued him into the court. Büsching says that, "when the king, in his old age, related this adventure, as he frequently did at table, in a humorous manner, he was pleased when the guests, and even the pages and servants in attendance on him, laughed heartily at it."

In the town there lived the widow of a glazier, who had a handsome daughter. Frederick pretended to be in love with her, and in an evening he would make believe to climb in at her window. With maternal solicitude for her daughter's character, the widow would, with blows, drive away the prince and his laughter-loving associates, who were highly amused with the scene. Immediately after the seven years' war, the old woman repaired to Berlin to have the satisfaction of seeing once more the renowned hero whom she had known a wild and frolicksome youth. As soon as Frederick saw her name in the report, he recollected his old acquaintance, and ordered her to be brought to him; but, without waiting for this order, she had already proceeded to the palace. Here the servants enquired if she had any petition to present. "No," she replied, "I only want to see my most gracious king." On being ushered into his presence, "Well,

'mother," said Frederick, "are you as cross as you used to be?" "Ah, your majesty, you did teaze me sadly, to be sure." "And how are things going with you now?" "Not well." "So! there is something for the present; you shall have more by-and-bye." His visitor absolutely refused to take what he offered. "Now I have seen my king," said she exultingly, "after he has suffered so much and done such great things!" and hastened back to her inn. Here she was sumptuously entertained by command of his majesty, who, as she would not accept anything for herself, settled upon her son a pension for life of ten dollars per month.

His letters to his father frequently enter into the minutest details relative to the service. "In most of the companies," he says, "there are still eight-inch men [men of 5 feet 8 inches] in the first rank, and we shall find it difficult to put them out of it this year. I have seen in the recruiting regulations, that when officers know of tall men of above six feet, they must report the circumstance, when the men are not to be persuaded by fair means. Not far from this place, at Perleberg, in Mecklenburg, there is a shepherd's man who, I am assured, measures not less than six feet four inches: nothing is to be done with him in a fair way; but when he is tending his sheep he is alone in the fields, and one might lay hold of him with a couple of officers and a few resolute subalterns. It is the same that hussars were once sent after; and therefore I would ask, whether it is the pleasure of my most gracious father that he should be caught or

not; and, if my most gracious father thinks proper, I will take precautions that the thing shall succeed, and no great noise be made about it, for I know the amtmann under whom the man is, and means may be found to stop *his* mouth."

At the beginning of June, 1733, Frederick, accompanied by the king, the queen, and the whole court of Berlin, repaired to Salzdahlum, near Wolfenbüttel, to receive the hand of his bride. The nuptial ceremony was performed on the 12th of June, by abbot Mosheim, in the ducal chapel. The grandfather of the princess, duke Louis Rudolph, of Wolfenbüttel, neglected nothing that lay in his power for the entertainment of his illustrious guests; and Frederick William gave the bride a costly set of jewels which, with other presents, were valued at 200,000 dollars.

The stay of the Prussian court at Salzdahlum was marked by a singular occurrence. We have seen that Frederick William had hitherto piqued himself, and justly, on his conjugal fidelity; but we learn from his daughter's Memoirs that it was not always that he resisted temptation so triumphantly as he had done at Dresden. The queen had for her first maid of honour a Mademoiselle von Pannewitz, who was beautiful as an angel, and not less virtuous than beautiful. The king, whose heart had hitherto been insensible, could not resist her charms, and he began to take notice of her. He was not gallant; and, knowing his weak point, he was aware that he should never succeed in aping the manners of the coxcomb or attempting the amorous style. To save the trouble of courtship, he

tried to begin the romance where it should leave off. He gave Pannewitz a very slippery description of his passion, and asked her if she would be his mistress. The fair one was highly indignant at the proposal. Nothing daunted, the king continued to besiege her for a year with his love. The upshot of the adventure was curious. Pannewitz, having accompanied the queen to Brunswick, met the king on a narrow private staircase leading to her majesty's apartment. He caught her and attempted to kiss her, at the same time laying his hand upon her bosom. Furious at the insult, the lady dealt him such a thump in the face that the blood gushed from his nose and mouth. He was not angry with her, and merely called her ever afterwards the *spiteful devil.*

The whole court of Brunswick accompanied the bride to the Prussian capital, into which she made her entry on the 27th of June, with a train of sixty carriages and six. Of the princess, her sister-in-law draws the following portrait from her own observation. "The princess-royal is tall; her figure is not elegant; she stoops forward, and this makes her look very ungraceful. Her complexion is very fair, and this fairness is relieved by the most lively colour. Her eyes are light blue, and promise not much understanding, her mouth small. Her features are small, without being handsome; but her face altogether is so charming and infantine, that you would take it for that of a girl of twelve years. Her hair is light, and curls naturally: but all her charms are spoiled by her teeth, which are black and irregular. She has

neither manners nor the least polish. She has much difficulty in speaking and making herself understood, to that one is obliged to guess what she means."

Of the duchess of Brunswick and her consort, we have the following sketch from the same lively pen: —"The duchess might be about fifty, but looked so well, that she did not appear to be more than forty. This princess had a good understanding and much experience of the world; but in all her demeanor there was a certain air of coquetry that sufficiently denote that she was not a Lucretia. At this time, M. von Stoken was her lover. It is difficult to conceive how a princess of her understanding could make such a choice, for a more disagreeable man I never saw. The duke, her husband, was equally so; the pleasures of Cythera had cost him dear—he had lost his nose. My brother jocosely said that he had lost it in battle with the French. To several other good qualities this prince added that of being an excellent husband. He was aware of his wife's conduct, but bore it patiently, showing her all imaginable kindness and respect; nay, it was said that she ruled him so completely, that he was obliged to make her very considerable presents whenever she permitted him to share her bed."

Among the festivities which took place at Berlin, during the stay of these visitors, was a grand review near that capital. The princess of Bayreuth would gladly have been excused from attending it, on account of her very delicate state of health, but durst not absent herself. On the preceding evening, the

queen, her mother, detained her at supper with her till twelve o'clock, though, according to the arrangements, she, like all the rest of the party, was expected to be ready by three in the morning, and in full dress, to go to the review. It was too late to lie down. The princess rode with her sister in one of the state carriages to the field, followed by more than eighty other carriages full of ladies. "All the equipages," says she, "were magnificent, the owners having ruined themselves to make a show on that day. We passed before the troops, 22,000 in number, who were drawn up in order of battle. A dozen tents, of mere linen cloth, had been set up, each capable of containing about five persons. The king was at the entrance of that prepared for the queen, and crammed us all into these tents in such a manner that four of us stood while the others lay or sat on the ground. The sun darted his rays through the thin cover, and we were sinking under the weight of our clothes. Add to this that we had no refreshment whatever. I laid myself down on the ground at the farther end of the tent; the other ladies who were before me screening me a little from the sun. In this attitude I continued from five in the morning till three in the afternoon, when we got into our carriage again. We went at a foot-pace, so that it was five o'clock when we alighted at the palace, without having tasted so much as a drop of water."

Another of these court *pleasures*, a grand promenade, is thus described:—"We were all in phaetons, dressed out in our best: all the nobility followed in

carriages, to the number of eighty-five. The king led the way in a berline; he had fixed beforehand the route we were to take, and fell asleep by the way. A tremendous shower came on: we proceeded nevertheless at a foot-pace. It may easily be conceived what a state we were in our hair hung about our ears and our clothes were soaked. At last, after being in the rain for three hours, we arrived at Mon-Bijou, where there was to be a grand ball and illumination. I never saw anything so comic as all those ladies, drenched to the skin and with their clothes sticking to their bodies. We could neither change nor even dry ourselves, and were obliged to remain the whole evening in our wet garments."

As soon as the nuptial festivities were over, Frederick and his bride withdrew into rural retirement at Ruppin. His father gave him that manor, and in 1734 purchased for him the mansion of Rheinsberg, in a romantic situation not far from the town, and had it re-built. This place became his favourite residence.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON: HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

00037860

Digitized with financial assistance from

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a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018